A SECRET HISTORY OF VOLLEYBALL

BY

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Abstract

A "secret history" considers the global authorship of volleyball beyond the standard history of a single inventor and obliterates assumptions of the inferior creativity of colonized, Asian, queer, and/or indigenous subjects. Volleyball is both ubiquitous and yet mostly relegated to mere footnotes in the histories of American team sport, a reflection of its status as an "insurgent" game hiding in plain sight. This dissertation examines the interfaces among colonizing evangelical sporting traditions of the Young Men’s Christian Association, military doctrine, and indigenous creative resistances that helped to drive volleyball's evolution beyond purely masculinist narratives of team sport.
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Chapter One: Introduction

*What do they know of volleyball?*

He loved playing volleyball and loved horse riding. And he’d do it, I mean amongst people he was not Osama bin Laden. He was just Osama. (Zaynab cited in Bergen 2006, p. 174)

“What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?” asked postcolonial scholar C.L.R. James in the preface to his masterpiece of critical sport studies, *Beyond a boundary* (1963, p. xxi). James was echoing a line of verse from Rudyard Kipling’s 1891 poem “The English flag” (originally published under the heading “The flag of England”) “What should they know of England who only England know?” In Kipling’s ideology, the English flag symbolized an organic, racial identity of Anglo-Saxon “Englishness” celebrated for exceptional toughness of spirit and Christian willingness to sacrifice for the good of the British Empire. Kipling’s numerous odes to masculinity extended mid-nineteenth century “muscular Christianity” to imagine a racially exclusive national manhood in the service of empire, rightfully taking up the white man’s burden. By placing cricket in place of Kipling’s flag, James refuted Kipling’s emphasis on racial national identity in favor of a transnational sporting practice. As cricket circulated throughout the British Empire, the game transformed through the participation of non-English cricketers whose successful performances challenged assumptions of native inferiority.

In answer to this playful query, James deploys memoir in consideration of cricket as both British colonial pedagogy as well as a site offering pre-revolutionary Trinidadians opportunities for resistance and the exploration national manhood.

James’ use of the “boundary” sporting metaphor signals sport’s unrivalled facility for creating boundaries of all sorts, across binary categories of winners/losers, young/old,
male/female/, Christian/non-Christian, hetero/homosexual as well as various constructions of developmental age, racial identity, national identity and religious belief. James’ autobiographical narrative gracefully captures the complexity of transnational identity, in both aspiring to a game fundamental to one’s subjectivity while simultaneously critiquing the colonialist structures that produce cricket. James demonstrates the ambivalent core that sporting pedagogies and hybrid identities frequently engender. This tension in the colonial encounter renders James’ descriptions of syncretic West Indian cricket both aesthetically pleasing and tinged with racial melancholy.

There is perhaps a chance to beat the colonizer at his game. The Jamesian approach buttresses optimistic sporting discourses in which boundary transgressors such as Jackie Robinson and Billie Jean King successfully overcome discrimination; sport can thus be easily positioned as a vehicle to social inclusion and progressive reform. These triumphant sport figures who successfully transgress the boundaries are, paradoxically, proof of the inherent neutrality of sporting rules and verity of the “level playing field.” To guard against such seductive illusions of sport, those of us engaging critical sport studies should keep in mind Audre Lorde’s sobering dictum “The master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change (1984, p. 112).

In his study of Navajo basketball, Eric D. Anderson attempts a reconciliation of James and Lorde, by recognizing basketball as both part of the master’s toolkit and a site of Navajo community survival. Ultimately, Anderson cautiously concludes that basketball’s adversarial nature have also meant “the Navajo have certainly absorbed the ‘us versus them’ mentality of Euro-American sports” (2006, p. 255) thus supporting Lorde’s view that genuine change remains elusive. Similarly, Guamanian Vicente M. Diaz’ rich memoir of “island-style” football steeped
in nostalgia for youth and community salvaged from brutal colonial legacies: “Me, I began with the following conviction: the legacy is that we beat the other at his own game. Now immersed in the historic and mnemonic materiality of those years, I’m less sure just who is the ‘we’ and just who we ‘beat’” (2002, p. 193).

But what do they know of volleyball? In the following chapter, I present volleyball’s YMCA origins as a game designed for white, Anglo-Saxon, elderly male Protestant businessmen. Due in part to acknowledged inventor William G. Morgan’s conception of a geriatric, non-strenuous, and non-contact activity, volleyball maintains an inferior ranking within the hierarchy of U.S. team sport, and lags behind both soccer and basketball as global games. Despite its lower ranking in prominence, volleyball’s surreptitious history as part of the expansion of the U.S. empire in the Pacific and subsequent military and colonial governance of the Philippines, provided a unique vehicle for volleyball’s expansion beyond geriatric Progressive urban America to new roles as prophylaxis for preventing venereal disease, training colonial armies, and colonial education.

Chapter two focuses on the philosophy of team sport as developed by YMCA educator and physician Luther H. Gulick whose famous pupils included James Naismith (the inventor of basketball), William G. Morgan, and football innovator Alonzo Stagg. Chapter three traces sporting pedagogies of the YMCA and its application to U.S. territorial ambitions in the trans-Pacific as both a means of differentiating from racial others deemed uncivilized and as method of training those same “wild men” in the waging of counterinsurgent warfare in the Philippines. Chapter four draws upon photographic archives of the American colonial Philippines to contextualize the reinvention of volleyball beyond its American origin that reveal Filipino/a contributions in developing the distinctive strokes of the game in response to the imposition of a
racially-specific disadvantageous rule imposed by YMCA sporting evangelist Elwood S. Brown. Chapter five expands beyond the Philippines and traces volleyball’s modern development through the traditions of elite amateur Asian regional and national competitions that provided stages for the first international women’s team sport competitions as well as transgendered subjects.

This secret history of volleyball overturns assumptions of native and female incapacities for teamwork. Volleyball’s practical qualities of portability, affordability, and flexibility allowed volleyball to be an “insurgent” sport. Rather than placing boundaries that restrict entry, volleyball’s multi-authored invention and various global practices by indigenous, Asian, female, queer, incarcerated, and occupied subjects suggest its unreliability as a “master’s tool.” Volleyball’s “failure” to reach the pinnacle of team sport and its inadequacy as a vehicle for iconic team sport reflects its unmooring from traditional masculine team sport; it is seen as a “women’s game” in the U.S. context, particularly in the hyper-feminine signifier of “beach volleyball.” At the other end of volleyball’s gendered spectrum (or perhaps not so far), is the continuing presence of militarized masculine bodies such as the naval aviators depicted in the popular film Top gun (Scott, 1986).\(^1\)

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\(^1\) Iraq war veteran Tomas Young joined the army two days after the 9/11 attacks. Young cited his viewing of the film Top gun, and specifically the volleyball scene as a powerful influence in shaping his positive expectations of military camaraderie (Spiro & Donahue, 2007). Returning home as a quadriplegic from bullet wounds, Young subsequently became the most prominent antiwar activist through Iraq Veterans Against the War.
The practice of volleyball allows for gender fluidity to a much greater extent than other sports; this distinguishes it from typical masculine codes of team sport that reliably produce stereotypical masculine iconic national bodies. Although men play volleyball, it is perceived in the U.S. as more of a “women’s” game, where men such as the naval aviators in *Top Gun* are merely recreational players who happen to play well on the periphery rather than the focus of serious competition or spectator sport.\(^2\) In the U.S., those successful spectator team sports would include football and baseball, while globally soccer and increasingly basketball gain far more attention than volleyball; and yet volleyball remains ubiquitous, perhaps hiding amongst other competitive team sports in plain sight. It can be played on any surface, with as little as a clothesline to serve as net, and any spherical object comfortable enough to bat by hand.

Therefore, volleyball is not only a team sport in which American women are allowed to excel, but also where incarcerated and occupied populations with limited resources may take part.

\(^2\) Professional men’s beach volleyball has had limited success and visibility, peaking in the 1990s with prominent players of the Association of Volleyball Professionals such as Karch Kiraly, Randy Stoklos, “Sinjin” Smith and commodifying a southern beach lifestyle for a niche market. As for gay-identified U.S. men, volleyball events are among the most popular in the Gay Games.
Angela Davis described the mental torpor of her imprisonment at the New York Women’s House of Detention in 1970 as alleviated by games of volleyball: “I looked forward with great pleasure to our volleyball games atop the jail. … It was amazing, however, how much time could be consumed in these things, most of which contributed not in the least to the educational, cultural, or social development of prisoners. The main purpose of these pastimes was to encourage, in a subtle way, obedience and submissiveness” (1974, p. 52). The “master’s game” in Davis’ memoir, is imposed by the master rather than played by the master, is counterinsurgent rather than insurgent, and seeks to tighten infantilizing boundaries around its prisoners.

An alternative secret history of volleyball that undermines the straightforward narrative of volleyball as YMCA director William G. Morgan’s 1895 invention in favor of a collective Filipino response to American colonial tutelage, refuses to concede volleyball as one of the master’s tools. Volleyball’s rebounds and proliferating styles of play allow for a critical indigenous pedagogy that honors Lorde’s call to examine racism and homophobia and her urging to “reach down into that deep place of knowledge inside herself and touch that terror and loathing of any difference that lives there” (Lorde, 1984, 113). A secret history of volleyball seeks decolonizing epistemologies (Denzin & Giardina, 2009, p. 29) by critically examining sporting genealogies, subaltern resistances, and creative reformulations.
Palestinian artist and provocateur Khaled Jarrar constructed the “Concrete volleyball” out of material he chipped out of the 26-foot high barrier wall separating the West Bank from Israel (Atallah, 2012). Jarrar’s potentially incriminating act of salvaging the wall can be viewed in Jarrar’s video of the procedure titled “Football” (2012). Jarrar’s muscular artistry is a testament to Palestinian material deprivation and a ludic act of resistance against segregating boundaries that indiscriminately classify all Palestinians as terrorists. The hardness of the concrete volleyball conveys the hardness of Palestinian material realities and suggests bone-breaking consequences if played with. Jarrar’s first concrete ball was a soccer ball, but his concrete volleyball metaphorically connects the Israeli wall to the volleyball net. Brown’s imposition of a three-hit maximum rule on the Filipino side of the net while allowing the non-Filipino side to have unlimited hits demonstrated the non-neutrality of the net, just as the Israeli barrier wall results in asymmetrical effects. Jarrar described his wall into concrete balls project as a means of drawing attention to the wall’s power to divide people and his agency in repurposing the wall from barrier
to art objects/sporting objects that literally (in the spaces of galleries and museums) and
figuratively (through sport) draw people together.

Following James’ example, I conclude the introduction with my own volleyball memoir
that helps to situate perspectives of the history of volleyball that follows.

School days: a sometimes cringe-worthy autoethnography of volleyball pedagogy

My volleyball education began my freshman year of high school under the enthusiastic
tutelage of Spreckels “call me Spreck.” He had the appearance and laidback habitus of a southern
California Aryan surfer dude with the requisite blond hair and blue eyes that belied both his
sharp intellect and elite social status as a member of a famous San Francisco dynasty that had
made its 19th century fortune in Hawaiian sugar, California railroads, and newspaper publishing.
Spreck’s friendly nature and handsome appearance fulfilled stereotypical Disney casting
requirements summarized by Sting’s lyrics “young teacher, the subject of school-girl fantasies.”
As a closeted young transgendered queer, I could only hypothesize about my heterosexually-
identified female peers’ opinions on male attractiveness as the context of a small, academically
rigorous, college preparatory school minimized the emphasis on dating and conventional
popularity contests and instead favored an inclusive group ethos where categories of “jocks” and
“nerds” were blurred. While I experienced the occasional envious twinge contemplating those
effortlessly legible biological males like Spreck, I could also defer existential quandaries of
gender and sexuality by directing my energies into sport and academics. Thus I experienced
firsthand the YMCA pedagogical theory of “practical preaching” that positioned sport as an
effective obstacle to sexual temptation.

We played in an independent school league that included other prestigious college
preparatory schools throughout the Bay Area, as well as smaller public schools in remote coastal
communities, the nearly all-Black Emeryville public school, the California School of the Deaf, and at the Chinatown YMCA. Because our school was small (my graduating class was under fifty students), we were guaranteed a spot on the junior varsity as freshman and forcefully recruited to participate in the other team sports – basketball in the winter and soccer in the spring. We traveled in beat-up Ramblers, listened to mixed tapes, and helped each other with homework; our team camaraderie developed over four years without the distractions of digital technologies or self-negating boy craziness. My high school was a safe place that both allowed for our independence to go off campus to study at the café run by the “Moonies” of the Unification Church, but where coaches drove of their way to help me participate on teams that my Filipina mom considered to be inconvenient encroachments on my studies and family’s needs. Told by a fortune-teller that her daughter would pursue the study of something beginning with the letter “V,” she had hoped for violin and not expected volleyball.

Spreck opened our eyes to the international game when he arranged for tickets to see the famous 1980 U.S. women’s national team play a five-set match against the amazing Japanese national team at U.C. Berkeley’s Harmon gymnasium. The U.S. women’s team was heavily favored to win a gold medal in the upcoming Olympic games in Moscow under the leadership of Israeli coach Arie Selinger and 6’5 middle-blocker Flo Hyman; the Japanese team was much shorter in stature but played a dizzyingly fast and complicated offense as well as unbelievable defense – balls that should have hit the floor kept coming up on their side and defied all expectations. This committed style of play as it turned out had its own history.

I remember naïvely asking Spreck, “So which team do you want to win?” His quick, somewhat incredulous answer, “The U.S., of course!” was not as readily apparent to me. Having spent a lot of my formative years growing up in Berkeley of the 1970s, I was also simply
unaccustomed to patriotic fervor. He said he wanted to see good competition of course; it would be a better match if it went to the full five games. I remember being somewhat disappointed in Spreck’s answer; it seemed oddly knee-jerk, unrelated to the actual competitors – after all, the Japanese team was the underdog, and that seemed to be a good enough reason for wanting them to succeed. Spreck’s delirious chants of “U-S-A! U-S-A!” in unison with other usually anti-establishment Berkeley-ites seemed oddly cultish and overblown, like a surprising turning point in a *Twilight Zone* television plot. How unsportsmanlike it seemed to cheer for the Japanese servers to miss, which never happened as they consistently served up their famous “Japanese overhead floating serve” with knuckleball action; the Japanese plays were as equally deserving of awe as the powerful attacks of Flo Hyman, playmaking intuition of setter Debbie Green, and the gravity-defying leaps of Rita Crockett. After that match I was hooked on volleyball, only then realizing how well the game could be played, even if one wasn’t going to be taller than 5’7. We were mere tyros whose play resembled the murky shadows on the walls of Plato’s cave compared to the Olympians. When would we see international volleyball competition of this caliber again? Due to the Carter administration’s decision to boycott the Olympics in response to the Soviet Union’s 1979 invasion of Afghanistan and those pre-Internet days limiting access to U.S. television broadcast networks, not until the 1984 Los Angeles games when an ebullient China led by Lang “Iron Hammer” Ping crushed the U.S. national team in the gold medal match.

Two years later in Tokyo, Flo Hyman died suddenly of heart failure on the bench of the professional Daiei team due to complications related to undiagnosed Marfan syndrome. It was only after reading her obituaries that I realized how special Flo was – not just for her elevating the power in the women’s game with spikes clocked at over 110 miles an hour, but for the fact that so few African-Americans had played elite international volleyball.
After Spreck, our next coach was a recent physical education graduate from U.C. Berkeley named Linda; like Spreck, Linda was blond and blue-eyed, but unlike Spreck, Linda came from the epicenter of the volleyball universe of southern California. She made up for her short stature by being fiercely competitive, but one could sense that her choice of a game that favored the tall led to a certain amount of disappointment in her college career. Linda taught me how to play the setter position that she had played, encouraged me to watch the collegiate games played by her former teammates at Harmon gymnasium, and drove me home countless times enabling my growing love for the game and a brief but intense one-sided crush. She said her former teammates comprised an interesting group of atypical southern Californians who thrived in Berkeley’s counter-culturally experienced milieu. Our team improved dramatically under her
guidance, as she was familiar with latest the latest training techniques, including the all-out gutsy
dive to the floor and the flashy quick set to the middle. The complexity of the game meant that a
well-coached mediocre athlete could actually have some success if willing to practice year round
and gain enough experience through the club system.

In my junior year, I started playing on the Eastlake YMCA club team in Oakland coached
by Dan Gellerman. Dan and his wife owned a small sporting goods store in the Haight-Ashbury
that specialized in running, but volleyball was his true passion. He made sure that kids who
didn’t have much could afford to play on the team and probably waived the meager $25 a month
club dues for many players.³ While other clubs had fancy warm-up suits and uniforms, we
happily wore hand-me-down T-shirts and practiced with dingy balls and ripped nets. Dan was
soft-spoken but outspoken, wielded a dry sense of humor, and was a master of volleyball’s
psychological aspects. He taught us to serve tough and to never miss a serve after the opponent
had called a timeout, as this would be giving them exactly what they wanted. He was of course
extremely pleased whenever he called a timeout that was then followed by the other team’s
service error. He insisted that everyone should know how to set the ball with their hands, not just
the setter, and that you had to find a way to create the opportunity for a spike no matter how bad
the initial pass. He believed the only important part of the volleyball uniform was the shoes, but
didn’t mind if we had to have our kneepads. He taught us to be respectful of our opponents,
especially the older women who played in the master’s leagues whose mental toughness he
wanted us to emulate. He allowed me to play on the higher level team because he knew it was

³ Annual club expenses (including equipment, uniforms, tournament entry fees, and travel) for
volleyball average about $5000 a year. Participants correctly view the club system as the only
reliable means to gaining visibility among college recruiters and the possibility of college
athletic scholarships. Subsequently, minority and low-income participation in club and collegiate
volleyball is scandalously minimal.
the only way that I could get a ride carpooling with Sandy, a Chilean-American Catholic school
girl outside hitter with Farrah Fawcett-hair and a zippy Toyota.

The girls who came from Catholic schools had the advantage of having had earlier
interscholastic competition and were often the best players we had. Sandy always refused to take
gas money and she made sure we got to practice on time via Carlson Boulevard near the Chevron
Richmond refinery, past the Bay Bridge turnoff to San Francisco, over the Cypress overpass (the
freeway section that later collapsed and killed 42 people in the 1989 Loma Prieta/“World Series”
earthquake), and finally exiting at Fruitvale Avenue in East Oakland, where Chicano Brown
Berets and Black Panthers had patrolled in response to the 1968 murder of Chicano youth Pinky
De Baca by the infamously brutal and racist Oakland Police Department. Our team had a wide
range of athletic ability, socioeconomic standing, religious affiliation, and ethnicity in an
unselfconscious, unremarked way; we were an unusual team even for the Bay area. Despite my
meager athletic talent, Dan was extremely supportive not only by allowing me to play on the
higher team but also by helping me make a video tape to send to college coaches. One time after
Dan gave me a lift home he asked, “Are you a feminist?” as a way of working towards his next
question that was “Are you a lesbian?” Now, lesbians with high visibility in the Bay area of the
1970s and 1980s had short unstylish hair, wore Birkenstocks, and attended the women’s
basketball games; while I preferred and cautiously approached their mannish style (bi-level
haircuts provided excellent subterfuge), they were not objects of desire. And I had no idea that
there were such things as “femmes” who desired “butches.” In retrospect, it was quite obvious

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4 Fruitvale Bay Area Rapid Transit [BART] station recently gained notoriety for the shooting of
22-year-old African-American Oscar Grant III on New Year’s Day 2009 by transit officer
Johannes Mehserle. Mr. Grant was shot in the back while unarmed and physically restrained; his
ordeal is now the subject of a new film titled *Fruitvale station* (Coogler, 2013). Mehserle served
eleven months under a conviction of involuntary manslaughter.
that I certainly wasn’t straight but I denied it anyway, trying out a new proactive way of being closeted with the unconvincing lie “Uh, no I like guys.” I regretted it then and cringe now at the thought. As soon as I said it Dan looked visibly disappointed, not just the disappointment of one who was sure they had not been mistaken, but also at the missed opportunity of being able to have a Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) heart-to-heart moment. So while Dan could demonstrate just how progressive he was, I was not ready to admit anything about myself that might compromise fitting in on the team.

The only truly bad experience I had with a coach was an interim college coach who encouraged me to come to the College of William and Mary with a vague promise of delivering scholarship funding for my sophomore year. This same coach was later fired over an inappropriate sexual relationship with a player after she had moved on to another school. When I began my freshman year, not only did a scholarship not seem forthcoming, I almost failed to make the team as the regular coach Debbie Hill, had returned from sabbatical questioning all of the interim coach’s decisions and completely unaware of the pseudo scholarship offer. I had to earn a place on the team as a walk-on, and worried that I had ruined my chances of ever playing college ball. I had no experience with Debbie’s southern boot camp style of intense athletic training, and Debbie had good reason to conclude I was a flaky or worse arrogant Californian when I accidentally missed the first day of practice by attending some sort of freshman orientation event instead. I went from assuming I had a spot on the team and a good chance at a partial scholarship, to competing against at least three other freshmen prospects in team tryouts in the sweltering dog days of non-air-conditioned tidewater Virginia Adair gymnasium. I was easily ten to fifteen pounds over ideal weight, lacking in vertical capability, and slow to grasp the instructions that Debbie rapidly dispensed in hyper-caffeinated drill sergeant mode.
Why so caffeinated? Each of our daily training sessions began with a team-bonding, sitting around the circle ritual Debbie called “check in,” that was meant to be an honest assessment of how we were feeling, how our day had been, and what we were looking forward to in practice. For me, check in was an opportunity to try to change Debbie’s understandable assessment of me as a flaky-perhaps-arrogant Californian by displaying calculated measures of earnestness and charm – I hoped to make up for my athletic shortcomings with my best asset of quirky humor. But for Debbie, check in was more that a standard form of coaching pedagogy. It drew upon her recent conversion to an AA twelve-step program – her year’s sabbatical as assistant coach at another school her road to recovery. For the upperclassmen that had experienced Debbie’s wilder days, her reinvention as a sober person was a little jarring and required some adjustment. They claimed she had been “more fun and less intense” in previous seasons. The new Debbie always had a cup of coffee close at hand and we all felt that she would disapprove of our nascent exploration of the beer-drenched campus social scene, drinking age for beer in Virginia at that time was only 18, most of us lived on or very near campus, and parents were far away.

Debbie did not tell us until the end of the season that all of the athletic programs, save for football and men’s basketball were facing the possibility of being cut that year so she was under extra pressure to produce a winning season to justify the volleyball program. It was a typical case of non-revenue college sports being pitted against one another and it certainly explained the atmosphere of anxiety that permeated the environment; ultimately, men’s lacrosse got cut and women’s volleyball and women’s lacrosse survived. In later years these sorts of athletic department cost-cutting maneuvers would lead to the scapegoating of Title IX as the destroyer of men’s athletics, but this narrative had not yet emerged, at least not among the student-athletes.
At the time, I had only a vague idea of the demons that Debbie had to outrun to get to sobriety, but one of the things that the team whispered and speculated about was her relationship with her “roommate” Camilla. No one wanted to say Debbie was a lesbian for certain unless it came from her – this was some sort of protective honor code. It reflected a deep ambivalence about nontraditional sexuality in general and the added burden of women’s college athletics, where suspicions of lesbianism were constantly being deflected in a crucible of glass-walled closets. So there were butch-looking highly discreet coaches all around, none of them explicitly out but hiding in plain sight. The “don’t ask don’t tell” approach to nontraditional sexuality remains the way of most athletic departments that point to considerations for recruiting and marketability. We sometimes speculated and even snickered about these women before we knew the term “homophobia,” or in my case, self-loathing homophobic dread. I knew some tennis players from my freshmen dormitory, and to amuse ourselves we had cut out headshots of the butchest-looking coaches from the sports information brochures and made a poster-collage of all those we thought were lesbians, no doubt with various speech bubbles filled with lusty exclamations. We speculated about the women’s basketball team, many of whom were members of a sorority on campus that later came under its national leadership’s scrutiny for having lesbian members that they were determined to expel. The campus newspaper almost went to press with a list of these suspected lesbians, and freshmen who had pledged were given a chance to rescind their decision in the wake of the scandal. Debbie had been a cheerleader, had dated men in the past, and her appearance was feminine of center – Dorothy Hamill hairstyle, earrings, the occasional dress – in an Audubon guide to lesbians circa 1990 she would be classified as a “femme jock,” another term not really available yet in 1983. More than the “check in” sessions, the speculation about Debbie’s sexuality provided for team bonding – little did I realize that the
bond was sealing up any possible cracks in my own stifling closet. People must never ever know or I would never make the team, I would never have friends, and I understood from a practitioner’s standpoint how easily wit at the expense of others could be deployed for throwing off suspicion about myself.

Would things have been different if I had gone to U.C. Berkeley or perhaps Smith? I certainly would not have had any chance of making the team at U.C. Berkeley and I was not envious of the financial burden that my brother’s choice of our father’s Ivy League alma mater Dartmouth had imposed. All of my college applications fit these criteria: out of state, public, and a Division I volleyball program (which meant the possibility of obtaining an athletic scholarship), and a five-star academic rating according to the Selective Guide to Colleges (Fiske, 1983). I started with Universities of Washington, Illinois, Oregon, Virginia, and William and Mary, but ultimately found myself choosing between the last two because there my chances of playing volleyball would be greater.

The idea of going to school in Virginia was attractive for two reasons. Having grown up in the liberal Bay area of the 1970s, I wanted to go somewhere really different – what could be more different than the South? Virginia intrigued me for family reasons as well. My father’s maternal lineage traced itself to one of the old Virginia families: its original Morris patriarch came from Glamorganshire, Wales and settled in Hanover County in the colonial period. My ancestor Charles Morris had been a professor of history at William and Mary and his name was inscribed on a plaque of the College’s Confederate veterans mounted in a place of honor on the campus’ 17th century Christopher Wren building. When I became a history major with a minor in the philosophy department housed in Wren, I walked by the Colonel’s plaque frequently. I got a kick out of saying “Y’all” and meeting Young Republicans for the first time.
My uncle Coleman, the family genealogist reveled in sharing the details of his archival research about the Morris clan – their service in the Virginia legislature, Confederate army, kinship to Thomas Jefferson, and the impressive acreage of the plantation at Taylor’s Creek still in the possession of relatives. I had cousins that looked like they could have been “Dukes of Hazzard,” and thought it would be both incongruous and fascinating to explore my Virginia roots.

This is pure speculation, but I have a sense that Coleman’s role as family historian was his way of bridging the gap to the family, especially his brothers, who remained queasy about his decision to live openly as a gay man. Uncle Coley, like Coach Debbie, had walked a tough southern route to accepting his sexuality. He had left training as a Catholic priest to marry a woman who left training as a Catholic nun; his application for the State department’s foreign diplomatic service was abruptly terminated when he answered the “Do you have any homosexual tendencies?” truthfully in the affirmative. He was the first person to ever come out to me – another lesson with an inconveniently long incubation period, like the virus that eventually cut short his all-too-brief phase of self-knowledge.

When I was twelve years old, Coley was living in Greenwich Village eking out a living as a free-lance arts and entertainment journalist. We were walking down a New York street and he said with a smile, “You see all these men carrying handbags? They are all gay.” He had a full-length leather shoulder strap with a round ass-shaped bag himself. “But you’re not gay Coley, you have kids.” He smiled back, Cheshire catlike, pausing and letting my stupid observation hang in the air, probably thinking “just a matter of time.”

Once at William and Mary, I did make the volleyball team. Later Debbie told me it was only because I had the “good hands” of a setter – a skill that nearly all of Coach Dan’s players
developed, but Debbie grew up in a specialized system of volleyball as an outside hitter and never thought she could set with her hands worth a damn. In her estimation, good hands were something that a person was born with like perfect pitch. The other thing that saved me was that I perspired more than anyone else, which she interpreted as working hard in practice. She had it wrong – good hands can be learned, and working up a sweat always came easy to me even without working – but I was just happy to make the team and went about trying to figure out how to get Debbie to realize that I was serious about volleyball, hopefully earning some playing time, and wondering if I would be able to stay another year without scholarship support.

With the exception of Colin Powell’s daughter Linda and one other woman, the only African American women I ever saw on the third floor of the Barrett dormitory that housed about 60 students were there to clean up after us. I knew that this was deeply problematic, and had both personal and historical context for it, remembering the Taylor’s Creek family plantation. Although the Supreme Court’s Brown v. Board of Education decision desegregating public schools had happened thirty years before (with Virginia as a notable holdout), the racial divide between students and maids reinforced old southern traditions. The Kappa Alpha fraternity on campus still maintained the tradition of wearing Confederate uniforms for their annual spring formal dance. The rituals of belonging were often based on some sort of exclusion.

I credit my sixth grade social studies teacher Mr. Woods, a dashiki-wearing, unapologetic proponent of Black power for making such commemorative rituals unpalatable. Unfortunately, he was only an occasional special guest lecturer, probably because the progressive administration of Columbus school (appropriately renamed for Rosa Parks in the 1990s), wanted to put him in front of as many students as possible. His topic was almost always about the Civil war or civil rights. He gave equal time to Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr., praised contemporary
activists like Angela Davis and Huey Newton, and told us not to believe that the television miniseries *Roots* (Haley & Margulies, 1977) even came close to portraying the true horrors of American slavery.

At our first home game, I learned from the game brochure that our official team moniker was the “Lady Indians.” I thought this was a ludicrous name if only for the sheer superfluousness of having to explain the existence of female mammals as well as my personal feeling of strong dis-identification with the term “lady.” It did not occur to me then that it was insulting to put Indians in the same category of mascot occupied by bears, wolverines, huskies, and beavers. The tradition of the William and Mary Indians began in 1916, and by 1978 had begun to be phased out in favor of the new, slightly more opaque term “Tribe.” The green and yellow dual feather logo maintained an obvious connection to the vestigial “Indian” only to be removed in 2006 when Indian mascot controversies had become familiar fodder for critical sport studies.

Debbie was a big proponent of bench chatter, you supported the team from the sidelines by cheering loudly, and she rightly recognized volleyball’s ebb and flow rhythm in which vocal encouragement could make for a slight advantage. These were the days before it was customary for substitutes to stand during the entire match as they do now. Compared to the emptiness of the women’s basketball team’s cavernous venue where the men’s basketball team also played, Adair gym was small and thus easily filled with supporters whose cheers could be clearly heard throughout the arena.

Sometime in the 1970s, a Kappa Sigma fraternity member (often referred to as the football fraternity) developed the tradition that became known as the “Tribe towel cheer”

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5 While “Tribe” is preferable to “Indians” as a team name, it is a name that remains deeply problematic. Begun in 1978, the tradition of the “Tribe” was meant to convey a sense of unity and camaraderie.
performed at men’s basketball games. The “towel man,” usually a non-football playing Falstaffian frat brother, ran up and down the arena stairs whipping a towel overhead with a lassoing motion exhorting the crowd to raise the noise level, headed for center court, sometimes sliding his body on the floor like a base-runner while still whipping the towel overhead, then finally coming to a stop and throwing the towel high into the air. The crowd’s cheer crescendoed with the airborne towel then abruptly terminated at the moment the towel struck the wood, at which time the towel man spelled out the very problematic T-R-I-B-E using his full body. Despite having a full cadre of cheerleaders, the towel man’s antics were undoubtedly the most involving and raucous highlight of a generally subdued fandom. It was also a show of jock solidarity as it was the football fraternity supporting the basketball team. I cringe retrospectively to remember it but I adopted this manly version of cheering that rested on American Indian mascotry, much to the delight of my coach and team members. If not as a setter, I found my way on to the gym floor as a team mascot and a pseudo-frat boy at that.

Years later as a teaching assistant at the University of Illinois in a course titled “Sport and Modern Society,” I observed a new assistant professor lecture to a mostly resistant undergraduate audience about the problem of Indian mascots and the similarity of Illinois mascot Chief Illiniwek’s performances to blackface minstrelsy. He analyzed the role of the marching band’s music, the tradition of Hollywood westerns, Spokane Indian Charlene Teters’ protest portrayed in Jay Rosenstein’s film In Whose Honor (Rosenstein, 1996), and the creation of the Chief by an enthusiastic Boy Scout who liked to play Indian. The amount of evidence damning the tradition made no difference to most of the students who had selected the course because they identified as sport enthusiasts. The students listened politely but mostly refused to engage in meaningful debate, and the students of color were just as likely to be in favor of maintaining the “Chief” as a
mascot as the white students. In fact, one African American student critical of “blackface” minstrel performance agreed to the charge of “redface” performance, but that the Chief’s regular appearances at the premier team sport spectacles of football, men’s basketball and women’s volleyball games provided the most thrilling, participatory, and feel-good moment of these sporting events and therefore, she felt the tradition should be continued. While recognizing the racist aspects of the Chief, the student argued for the tradition as quality entertainment that not only created an exciting sporting atmosphere, but also united multiple generations of Illinois students. While the professor and I were perplexed by her analysis, remembering the “Towel cheer” I empathized with the emotion behind her argument. Historian Dave Roediger illuminated the supporting matrix of the Chief as a nexus of negligence in the transmission of American Indian history, white backlash politics, and right-wing media (2003). His critique beyond the boundary demonstrated how “racist common sense is profoundly shaped by the substitution of white folklore for serious history.” It was not necessary to be white in order to be seduced by white folklore.

**Volleyball Louts**

But sometime after performing the Towel Cheer had became tradition, the Kappa Sigma fraternity introduced another cheer to Adair gym – this one designed to rattle the visiting team. At the moment of an opponent’s serve, someone would yell a personalized insult – sometimes just a simple “Don’t miss Katie!” but sometimes something cruel such as “You need to lose weight Katie!” It might have only happened a couple of times, but clear in my memory is at least one occasion when a player from Virginia Tech was visibly crying after the match. The main culprit was the boyfriend of one of my teammates – she told him not to do it again and thankfully the taunting cheer ended.
In my subsequent years as a player, a coach, and official, I never had to deal with abusive taunting personally. In 2000, I attended a match at Georgetown University and witnessed a drunken group of male fans engage in the same behavior – ostensibly they were supporting the home team. The negative cheering did have the effect of rattling the visiting team. The nervous smiles and glances of the Georgetown team clearly indicated that they were uncomfortable with the behavior of their fans but neither they nor the officials of the match could or would get them to cease.

I thought about the sexist taunting when I read about an incident in 2012 where members of the men’s lacrosse team from Tufts attended a home volleyball match against Smith College. As an all women’s college, Smith was an easy and perhaps obvious target for misogyny but the sexualized taunts of “Hey number five, I bet you have a tight butthole” were accompanied by the homophobic “My sister’s your boyfriend” and xenophobic “That was all your fault Sonia – you’re going to get deported!” (Barrett, 2012).

Figure 4. Image accompanying Total Frat Move’s article titled “Tufts lax team suspended amidst rooting too hard for women’s volleyball.” (Schaeffer, 2013)
In response to the two-game suspension that Tuft’s Office of Equal Opportunity eventually handed down to some of the offending laxmen (Dupont, 2013), the Total Frat Move (TFM) website protested that the remarks were justifiable since they were both humorous, successful (the home team won easily), and just part of the tradition of sport fandom. TFM’s defense of the Tufts lacrosse team studiously avoided the xenophobic comments in keeping with the official rules for posting to the website’s forum rules introduced by the problematic claim “This isn’t ‘Nam – there are rules:”

1. No nudity. This includes everything that you won’t find on basic, daytime television: no assholes, vaginas, lady nipples, dicks, over 3/4 of a buttcrack, grundles, taints, testicles and the like.

2. No racism. If you think it’ll offend a certain ethnic group, keep it to yourself. This includes race-bating. Just don’t even go there.

3. No homophobia. Keep your negative feelings about homosexuals to yourself — this includes every, EVERY derogatory term out there. (Dorn, 2013)

There are no admonitions against sexism, the common denominator of nearly all of the website’s pages, arguably the site’s raison d’être. TFM’s commentators weighed in on the Tufts controversy thusly:

Throw In A Fratty: I thought the point of volleyball games was to objectify women?

Plan B is Plan A: Yeah, I always thought of it as essentially cheerleading with a ball and net thrown in. Do people consider it an actual sport now?

TrickleDown: Let’s be honest. If they wear volleyball shorts they’re asking for it.

The3WiseMen: I hope the apology letters were something along the lines of: “Sorry we made fun of your tight butthole. We’d be happy to help loosen it up for you.”
Colonel Cat: Women are allowed to play sports?

Plan B is Plan A: Yeah. Some shit called “Title Nine” or something.

The Tufts volleyball incident provided perfect fodder for TFM’s oblique endorsement of racism and homophobia through the filter of sport fandom and free speech. Furthermore, the sporting display of women’s tight-fitting volleyball uniforms complies with TFM’s no nudity rule while still providing the sort of hyper-sexualized imagery that women’s beach volleyball raises to epic levels. Simply conduct a Google image search for “beach volleyball,” and one will find few male subjects among the many opportunistic shots of bikini-clad women – or, perhaps more accurately the strategic body parts of breasts and buttocks.

“You’ve come a long way baby” was the 1970s slogan for the Virginia Slims cigarettes that served as the main sponsor for the Women’s Tennis Association Tour through the 1980s. While the possibility of women’s professional tennis resulted from a Faustian bargain with big tobacco, it seems that the success and visibility of women’s collegiate volleyball as an emerging revenue sport has made a pact with a similarly toxic form of fandom. While women’s volleyball provides ample opportunities for those interested in objectifying women, it is neither surprising nor what primarily interests me about the emergence of the volleyball lout phenomenon. Rather than the object of the volleyball lout’s attacks, what do these incidents portend in regard to the insecurities of the lout? What tensions does TFM’s relentless drive for jocularity obscure?

As I try to argue in this dissertation, part of volleyball’s secret history (at least in the U.S. context), includes its transgendering from a non-strenuous game for geriatric YMCA businessmen to an elite athletic sport for women that generates spectatorship and increasing revenues (Zapalac, Zhang, & Pease, 2010). Successful women’s team sport posed a threat to the Gulickian model of team sport as male and Anglo Saxon; similarly, the cheers of the volleyball
louts attempt to contain the threat of the female athlete/insurgent through gendered rhetoric. Not only the supporters of non-revenue sport men’s lacrosse, but even football advocates perceive a rival in women’s volleyball (Oberlander, 1988). Kyle Kusz (2001) linked representations of disadvantaged, youthful white victims both within and outside of sporting discourses as a strategy of 1990s white male backlash politics with continued relevance and applicability to the phenomenon of volleyball louts. In *TFM*’S analysis of the incident, the volleyball players from Smith did not experience verbal abuse nearly as extreme as the abuse NCAA quarterbacks receive:

Riddle me this, Tufts’ Office of Equal Opportunity – to what extent of harassment do you think an opposing NCAA quarterback is subjected to on any given Saturday playing away from home? The answer is: things so exponentially worse and not nearly as humorous as the things heard in Cousens gymnasium that evening. I’m talking attacks on their talent, appearance, sexual orientation, family members, and when I get really drunk, maybe a death threat or two. (Schaeffer, 2013)

Schaeffer’s comparison of Cousens gymnasium and any given football field rings false if only for the acoustics. A quarterback is unlikely to hear the individual fan’s outbursts and can at least pretend not to hear it. There are no moments of silence in football equivalent to the time of service in volleyball. Schaeffer’s putative NCAA quarterback does not receive attacks based on racial identity or immigration status. Schaeffer’s reference to attacks on sexual orientation only makes sense if the quarterback is a straight man being gay baited. The victimized quarterback in *TFM*’s imaginary is a straight, white, American-born youth.

In 2007, Oklahoma State University head football coach Mike Gundy engaged in a three minute public rant during a press conference against sports columnist Jenni Carlson for a
negative article she had written about the recently demoted starting quarterback. In a youtube posting that subsequently went viral Gundy yelled: “Are you kidding me? Where are we at in society? Come after me. I'm a man. I'm 40. I'm not a kid. Write something about me.” Gundy’s rant neither resulted in disciplinary action from the University, nor retaliation in Carlson’s newspaper The Oklahoman or other media outlets (Wigley & Zhang, 2009). Gundy became a folk hero for conservative pundit Rush Limbaugh (2007) and the inspiration for the website titled “I’m a man! I’m 41!” by an anonymous blogger identified only as “Blogs Central” (BC).

![Image](http://im41.com/)

Figure 5. Banner image for “I’m a man! I’m 41!” web blog (http://im41.com/)

I discovered this website while seeking the origin of the image below appearing in a blog posting titled “Muslim Women’s Beach Volleyball” (BC, 4 August 2012):
This image encapsulates the epistemic violence engendered by western neocolonial representation of the burqa (Ayotte & Husain, 2005) and positions a presumably liberated beach volleyball player in a bikini across the net as its binary opposition. The image indicts the burqa as both menacing and impractical for playing volleyball, while the bikini suggests an openness that is nonthreatening and rational. The burqa’s “monstrosity” plays against the bikini’s innocence, reflecting the illegitimacy of the former and the legitimacy of the latter, righteously determined by the gaze of the normative male subject. In contrast to the majority of representations of women in beach volleyball, the player maintains a somewhat defiant stance with arms akimbo rather than the usually inviting presence of a sexualized, less athletic image. In the context of a “global war on terror,” the female beach volleyball player image sheds the
frivolity of a pinup and shifts from a passive sexualized object to a righteous Westernized subject whose defiant stance towards the burqa-wearing Other temporarily transcends typically gendered codes. The caption’s reference to a “head-bag” immediately conjures the violence of interrogation and incarceration associated with the “War on terror’s” prisoner abuse scandals from Abu Ghraib to Guantanamo Bay. The caption’s warning that President Obama might be hiding underneath expresses multivalent conservative paranoia about Obama’s suspicious national origin, hidden Muslim identity, and transsexual menace that recalls the specter of the “monster-terrorist-fag” assemblage theorized by Puar and Rai (2002).

While CBC deploys the same type of irreverent humor displayed by TFM packaged for an older male demographic, the blogger’s convergence of Islamophobia and women’s beach volleyball bikiniphilia also resonates with the predilections of Norwegian mass killer Anders Behring Breivik. In a rambling 1,518-page manifesto titled “2083: A European Declaration of Independence,” Breivik indicts feminism and “political correctness” for allowing Islamic encroachment and calls for renewed virilization of European knighthood in the struggle for sovereignty. In a bizarre self-interview, Breivik asks himself what sport he enjoys watching and answers: “Only women’s sand volley ball:P Perhaps I would if Norway didn’t suck so hard in football” (Berwick, 2011, p. 1398). The colon and capital letter “P” appearing after “volley ball” are not typos but comprise an emoticon meant to convey a face with a tongue hanging out. Breivik’s disappointment with the Norwegian national soccer team expressed in homophobic terms possibly referenced the team’s failure to qualify for the World’s Cup Championship in 2010. In one succinct answer, the mass killer conveyed sport’s gendering apparatus that minimizes the scope of watchable women’s athletics to compulsory femininity enforced by the bikini and separates victorious heterosexual male national bodies from losing homosexual
national embarrassments. For Breivik, the failure of the Norwegian national soccer team is symptomatic of the impoverished status of European masculinity that necessitates revival of the Knights Templar and a modern crusade against the Islamic hordes. BC and Breivik share a reductive analysis of volleyball, women, and Muslims deployed to justify the use of violence to restore an imagined fraternity of white men (Nelson, 1998) to its rightful place.

While it is easy to despair of the violence summoned by counter-insurgent assemblages of the ultra-right, multiple forms of critical resistance at these junctures are also apparent. Volleyball combines minimal material requirements with maximal sporting and spectator potentialities; volleyball is prevalent among the transient, incarcerated, and dispossessed. Volleyball is not only emblematic of southern California beaches and transmitted through U.S. military bases, as it is also an indigenous part of daily life in Palestine, Afghanistan, and Iraq. In an opinion piece critical of U.S. military doctrine in the wake of General David Petraeus’ celebrated surge in Iraq, Air Force Major General Charles J. Dunlap Jr. positioned volleyball as a symbol of counterinsurgent doctrine stating:

Unfortunately, starry-eyed enthusiasts have misread the manual to say that defeating an insurgency is all about winning hearts and minds with teams of anthropologists, propagandists, and civil-affairs officers armed with democracy-in-a-box kits and volleyball nets. They dismiss as passé killing or capturing insurgents (Dunlap Jr., 2008)

The general’s negative assessment of counterinsurgency doctrine primarily executed by ground forces was not surprising given his branch affiliation with the Air Force; from the lofty perspective of attacking drones and convinced of war’s primary objective to kill and capture, the general dismissed the naïveté of believers of instant democracy by placing it alongside the flimsy and frivolous image of the volleyball net. While the general’s assessment has validity in regard
to the complex historical processes that form democratic institutions and the impossibility of instant democracy via “box kits,” his dismissive tone of volleyball’s significance lacks merit. Volleyball is a ubiquitous social activity that would continue with or without the distribution of equipment through counterinsurgent practices, and because of its tendency to gather large groups of spectators, a frequent site of targeted killings.

In the Lakki Marwat district of northwestern Pakistan, the Taliban retaliated against the small village of Shah Hassan Khel for forming a pro-government militia when a suicide bomber drove 600 pounds of explosive material into an intra-village volleyball match killing approximately 100 people (Khan & Oppel, 2010). The attack came after months of warnings and was partially designed as retaliation for U.S. drone strikes that had killed four people in nearby North Waziristan (Dawar & ul-Islam, 2010). The volleyball court represented village solidarity and communality and as such it was also the logical site for an asymmetric response to drone warfare. Far from the presumption of a hand-delivered democracy, the villagers of Shah Hassan Khel refused to cede their communal space of volleyball and knowingly risked their lives to play in the middle of warring forces.

Veteran Roman Skaskiw served as an infantry officer with the 82nd Airborne Division in Iraq and Afghanistan criticized the voyeuristic interest of civilian friends regarding his war experiences noting, “People seem impatient when I choose to talk about playing volleyball with interpreters, drinking tea with warlords, training police, or dredging irrigation canals. It’s as if you lack authenticity if you talk about anything other than killing or being killed” (2010). Skaskiw’s frustration with civilian reduction of war to the simple mechanism of killing, aims with equal pertinence at General Dunlap’s assessment. Perhaps their resistance to thinking about those Afghans and Iraqis as volleyball-playing subjects stems from the desire to deny their
humanity in order to celebrate war’s glorious killing. These are more heads in bags, both figurative and literal.

The Afghani graffiti artist Shamsia Hassani brilliantly counters efforts to bag and control the image of Afghani women within the burqas of the imperial imaginary. Hassani was born in Iran in 1988 to refugee parents originally from Kandahar, a Taliban stronghold. After returning to Kabul, Hassani trained as a graffiti artist and began to reclaim the image of the burqa from its iteration as simply a symbol of women’s oppression to one of women’s strength and resilience. “A lot of her work features women in burqas, but with a modern silhouette, with hips and sharp shoulders” (Graham-Harrison, 2012) that Hassani installs in Kabul’s public spaces, such as the ruins of the Soviet-era cultural center or abandoned industrial parks at great personal risk. Her embrace of graffiti reflects her desire to make her work as accessible as possible:

If you have an exhibition, most uneducated people won’t even know about it. But if you have art like graffiti in the street, everyone can see that. If we can do graffiti all over the city, there will be nobody who doesn’t know about art. (Hassani cited by Graham-Harrison, 2012)

The claiming of public space by artistic and athletic women remains a radical, boundary-breaking practice that suggests more similarities than differences between the women represented on both sides of the net.

**Epilogue: The curse of the Illini**

On December 17, 2011, orange and blue-clad Illini volleyball fans packed into the Buffalo Wild Wings grill in Savoy to watch their team play in the national championship game against UCLA. ESPN televised the game live from San Antonio, which played on every screen encircling the bar with deafening stereo surround sound. The Athletic Department had
designated as the Grill as the official Illini fan zone for watching the match resulting in a transplanted microcosm of the typical Huff gymnasium crowd. The Huff regulars included the goofy student "spike squad" with some members wearing ripped open volleyballs on their heads, men's club team players, former Illini players, middle-aged season-ticket holders from the community, and aspiring young high school players. The Huff contingent outnumbered the usual mainstream sports bar clientele and was as riveted as if for any other major national championship, such as the Superbowl or World Series final. It was a rare instance of a women’s collegiate team sport commanding the attention of a major sporting event.

I settled into the only spot available at the bar, in between a video poker game and an inebriated volleyball fan just a few years out of college. While most of the t-shirts in the crowd displayed the neutral bold capital "I," the nostalgic bar guy alum sported a t-shirt with a melancholic tribute to the Chief's last dance in 2007. We sat as lone wolves, staring at the screen until he announced loudly "Oh hey! I know that player! I totally know her, number 2. What's her name? Yeah I know her." He wanted everyone in the immediate area to know he knew her, to demonstrate his insider status, but he could not recall that the player's name was Rachel Feldman. Not getting an immediate reaction, he leant into me conspiratorially and said approvingly with a wink, “Don't you just love watching women's volleyball? Pretty soon they’ll be wearing thongs. It's a great spectator sport.” His comment confirmed that I was successfully passing as a dude, and to avoid blowing the gender illusion I simply nodded – the voice is always a dead giveaway. When I was younger, I would simply pass for a teenage boy but as I got older people started to think that I had hormonal abnormalities: "Dude! How have you not yet gone through puberty?" a twelve-year-old boy once demanded to know. Passing provides numerous advantages in addition to being able to listen to men as they speak to other men, including
personal safety and freedom of movement too often denied to those perceived as gender nonconforming.

Eventually, I could not avoid conversing with my bar neighbor without offending him, so I affect a low voice that seemed to successfully maintain the illusion. Reluctantly, the loyal Illini fan admitted, “UCLA is a lot hotter.” He zeroed in on UCLA freshman middle blocker Zoe Nightingale – an archetypal southern California blonde stating, “I’d go for number 13 … isn’t she hot?” When her 6’3 height flashes on the screen he registers mild shock and disappointment, "Whoa she's a fricking Amazon. But super hot!" As the game continued, Nightingale made several blocks and kills for points, so in the manner of drunken people who repeat themselves, my bar mate chorused with minor variations his fluctuating loyalties: “C’mon Illini! 13 is so hot I’d marry her! My wife is fucking up the Illini. Go Illini! Isn’t 13 totally hot? I-L-L …”

Whenever Rachel Feldman went to serve, my drunken bar neighbor announced how well he knew her and that they had even had libations. “Feldman!” he’d exclaim with increasing certainty and growing pride that he remembered her name (if only from reading the television screen), and emboldened to claim a more meaningful association.

The folks sitting on my right represented the wholesome, knowledgeable middle-aged volleyball fan demographic and watch the Illini’s demise with paternal and maternal concern. These are the sort of fans that attend the pre-game “Chalk Talks” asking polite and concerned questions of head volleyball coach Kevin Hambly such as: "How did Annie take it when you replaced her with Alexis at setter position?" Although only the space of my barstool and a video game were between the drunken fan and the couple, they represented two separate worlds of sport fandom, completely insulated from each other's experience due to the barrage of sound. Unlike the drunk, the couple was quite knowledgeable about the game and discussed the game in
terms of season-long trends. With these folks, I used my regular voice and attempted to maintain dual gender bar personas.

When Illinois dropped game three, the wind visibly went out of their sails and murmurings of “the curse” were audible. The idea of the curse has to do with Illinois’ inability to win national championships in the high-profile sports of basketball and football. I liked to tell my undergraduates in a course I taught called Sport and Modern Society that a good narrative explanation of the curse was the university’s inability to purge itself of the remaining vestiges of the Chief Illiniwek tradition – namely, the band’s music. My drunken bar mate did not speculate on the cause of the curse, and instead grabs a megaphone from a circulating fan and leads a futile cheer in yet another national runner-up effort.
Chapter Two: YMCA Team Sporting Pedagogies

The Mentor: Luther Halsey Gulick (1865-1918)

They learn that the social unit is larger than the individual unit, that individual victory is now as sweet as the victory of the team, and that the most perfect self-realization is won by the most perfect sinking of one's self in the welfare of the larger unit -- the team.

(Gulick 1907, p.11)

While serving as superintendent of the physical education department of the International Young Men’s Christian Association Training School from 1887 to 1900, physician Luther Halsey Gulick mentored James Naismith the inventor of basketball, as well as William G. Morgan, whose 1895 game of mintonette became the YMCA’s other major team sport volleyball. The global circulation and further adoption of these YMCA team sports through international networks of missionary physical educators, the military, and the modern Olympic movement assured Gulick’s widespread legacy of gentlemanly team sport. Gulick was representative of a new generation of American Protestant “muscular Christians” who engineered the shift in YMCA pedagogy from the emphasis on spiritual and religious development through bible study, towards the development of scientific physical hygiene and fitness (Gustav-Wrathall, 1998, p. 16). Prominent proponents of muscular Christianity contemporary with Gulick included G. Stanley Hall, Josiah Strong, and Theodore Roosevelt (Putney, 2001, p. 1).

Muscular Christianity originated in the 1850s England out of the Anglican clergy’s concerns about effeminacy and physical weakness resulting from urban conditions (Putney, 2001, p. 1). The creed of muscular Christianity spread to the United States through novels such as Tom Brown’s School Days (Hughes, 1857) that extolled the virtues of manliness learned in the
homosocial spaces of English public school sporting fields of cricket and rugby, but instead expressed through American team sports specifically for men such as baseball and football. Evangelical Dwight L. Moody conducted a series of conferences in Northfield, Massachusetts beginning in 1885 that used prominent athletes such as football hero (and later innovator) Amos Alonzo Stagg to preach about the compatibility of religion and sport (Putney, 2001, p. 2). Muscular Christianity rejected Victorian sentimentality and effeminacy, and increasingly defined sport in masculinist terms in reaction to the rise of women’s public presence (Putney, 2001, p. 3).

The YMCA’s emphasis on physical work in gymnasias alleviated concern about competing with the roles of traditional churches by instead offering a philosophy of developing “the whole man” through a comprehensive program of scientific sexual hygiene (rather than pious sexual purity sermons) and physical culture (Gustav-Wrathall 1998, p. 24). This pragmatic approach also increased the appeal of YMCA programs among non-Protestant Christian participants. Furthermore, the YMCA’s physical work comprised not only exercise and training in sport, but also included physical examinations, individual counseling, and public lectures on various topics of social hygiene.

In 1887, Gulick represented a new type of physical educator who combined scientific approaches and Christian ideals, and differed markedly from the “old soldiers, ex-circus men, and broken down pugilists or other professional athletes” (Dorgan, 1934, p. 26) that had previously taught at the YMCA International Training School located in Springfield, Massachusetts. Gulick’s “whole man” sporting philosophy emphasized symmetry and balance.

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6 Muscular Christianity’s ethos continues in organizations such as the Fellowship of Christian Athletes founded in 1954 on the principle that if professional athletes could advertise products, why couldn’t they also “witness for Jesus Christ.”

7 Originally founded in 1885 the “School for Christian Workers” trained young men for various fields of Christian work open to laymen; as demand for YMCA secretaries grew, the
of mind, body, and spirit symbolized by the triangular logo Gulick designed himself that was at first resisted by the YMCA leadership as “emblems were not in good repute” (Dorgan, 1934, p. 37). In a characteristic display of manly self-assurance, Gulick started a physical education magazine titled The Triangle, ordered the forging of one thousand triangular pins, and sold them for ten cents each to YMCA members who enthusiastically wore them at the following international convention (Dorgan, 1934, p. 37).

Gulick’s philosophy of play extended the teachings of prominent developmental psychologist and inventor of “adolescence” G. Stanley Hall, seeking practical solutions to counteract the detrimental effects of modern urban living on the human nervous system identified by the newly “discovered” medical condition called “neurasthenia” (Beard, 1881). Gulick’s intellectual affinity with Hall included a literal interpretation of the so-called racial recapitulation theory which claimed that 1) children of advanced races undergo a primitive, savage phase prior to adolescence and 2) racially inferior groups were biologically predetermined to fall short of achieving the full measure of maturity and civilized status (Gould cited by Bederman, 1995, p. 93). Gulick’s “play theory” extended racial recapitulation theory to increasingly specialized scientific models and pedagogical methods that supported belief in white Anglo-Saxon (assumed also to be Protestant and Christian) superiority. Nell Irvin Painter (2010) chronicled American claims to Anglo-Saxon heritage through Thomas Jefferson (p. 111).

International YMCA Training School was established in 1890, with a more rigorous and formal program of physical education instruction established in 1895. In 1954 the institution became the present-day Springfield College in Massachusetts. (Springfield College Archives and Special Collections Department)

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8 Beard defined neurasthenia in neurological terms as “a lack of nerve force” (1881, p. 3). “The men most in danger of developing neurasthenia were middle- and upper-class businessmen and professionals whose highly evolved bodies had been physically weakened by advances in civilization” (Bederman, 1995, p. 87).
and Ralph Waldo Emerson. “Bodily strength, vigor, manliness, and energy emerge as natural outgrowths of early Saxon bloodthirstiness, presented lovingly” and possessed of “manly beauty” (Painter, 2010, p. 167).

In a journal edited by Hall titled *The Pedagogical Seminary*, Gulick published a developmental model of “Anglo-Saxon boys’ plays” that posited a racialized notion of “team work” as indicative of the most “evolved” of group games:

These group activities involve not merely the subordination of self, and the elevation of the group, but the pursuit of a distant end, by means of definite steps, usually indirect, having a more or less definite programme; involve the obedience to a leader, even when he is evidently mistaken; involve self-control, loyalty to the group as a whole, and in varying degrees, the despising of pain and individual discomfort. These qualities appear to me to be a great pulse of beginning altruism, of self-sacrifice, of that capacity upon which Christianity is based. … These group games are played by Anglo-Saxon children, but by none others. (Gulick, 1899, p. 142)

To bolster his claim against the possibility of non-Christian, non-white teamwork, Gulick explained that the teamwork aspects associated with the ancient South Asian game of polo were British contributions while “North American Indian” lacrosse had some elements of cooperation but did not inspire the altruism of “self-sacrifice” (1899, p. 142). Following the circular logic of racial recapitulation, the group activities of primitive or savage men failed to progress beyond the reflexive, instinctual, self-centered, childlike and even animalistic forms of play. As for the “more civilized” non-English speaking Europeans, Gulick dutifully noted the German capability for organization but deemed their group games as lacking in coordination and self-sacrifice, and vulnerable to “overcivilization” (1899, p. 143). By using Beard’s notion of “overcivilization,”
Gulick deftly associated German literary, artistic and academic accomplishments with effete neurasthenic intellectualism.

Thus, Gulick’s evolutionary play theory nimbly demonstrated the flexibility of racial ideology by explaining away inconvenient anomalies of indigenous sporting traditions and putting off the challenges of other non-Anglo European claims of racial superiority. Gulick’s slippery definition of Anglo-Saxon as “not necessarily of Anglo-Saxon blood, but of Anglo-Saxon tradition and psychical inheritance” (1899, p. 133) had the practical advantage of accommodating historical shifts and overlapping constructions of whiteness. While the exact nature of Gulick’s racial classifications remained blurry and often contradictory, all groups were bounded by a continuum from savage to civilized, and Gulick’s model of “team work” assumed racial homogeneity and segregation. This latter point recalled earlier 10th-15th century definitions of “team” as a racial stock or line of descendants (OED, 1989). Thus, Gulick revived a pre-modern pastoral notion of team, added an air of scientific authority, and upheld white supremacy based on a racialized understanding of physical education.

In Gulick’s classification system, by age twelve, the superior “aggregating capacity” of Anglo-Saxon boys’ play flourished in team sports such as baseball, basketball, football, cricket, and hockey (1899, p. 141). As the aggregating capacity grew, the need for moral guidance in proper manliness increased with a particularly acute moment of “racial development” at age twelve. Gulick’s father had been sent away from Hawaii to New York at age twelve by his missionary parents, as they feared the influence of native Hawaiians during that crucial moment of development in a boy’s life (Jewett, 1895, p. 98). Whereas Gulick’s forbears had anxiety about the effects of the uncivilized tropical environment on developing boys, Gulick and other Progressives turned their attention to the perils of urban civilization.
We are all aware of the fact that when these group activities become allied with wickedness, we have the most perilous forces of modern civilization at work. We have the gang of the city. … If the life is to be righteous, or if it is to be wicked, it is usually settled during this period. (Gulick, 1899, p. 144)

The foregoing passage resonates with contemporary discourses that seek sporting solutions to urban, “inner city” i.e. e. racialized gang activities exemplified by the Midnight Basketball programs of the 1980s and 1990s “war on drugs” (Hartmann, 2001). While the contemporary moment of fiscal austerity evokes a measure of nostalgia for state-supported social recreation in general, excavating the scientific racism foundational to modern team sport that Gulick theorized assists the task of unpacking the construction of racialized gangs as corrupted versions of teams:

Gangs and the relations, behaviors, styles, and desires they promote are depicted as the preferred choice of today’s generation of Black youth. Moreover, gangs are identified as solely responsible for subverting sport – its values and the possibilities it establishes – and for destroying athletes … . Gangs are not only identified as what/who are responsible for the decline in sport participation but, and by extension, what/who are responsible for the breakdown, disorder and impoverishment of the inner city. (Cole, 1996, pp. 367-368)

Cole’s analysis of the “gang/sport” dyad demonstrated the “common sense” power of racist discourse to undermine and divert attention away from the economic policies attending the post-Fordist urban decay of the 1980s; sporting pedagogies developed by YMCA urban Progressivist reformers of the 1890s reveal the deep historic roots of such racialized logic. In Gulick’s formulation non-Anglo Saxon boys possessed inferior aggregating capacities and were
potentially dangerous, while girls were entirely unsuited for team sport. Gulick promoted interscholastic competition for boys in the New York public school system in atavistic terms, publishing an article titled “Team games and civic loyalty” that explained:

The gang is the masculine social unit. It is the modern representative of the tribe. It is the germ out of which the club and society develop. … Athletic sports give an opportunity for the direct using of this great social power so as to make for honesty and loyalty. There is no one thing in a school which makes for school loyalty so much as good school athletics. (Gulick, 1906b, p. 678)

Gulick’s career beyond the YMCA reflected his gendered approach to physical education, which prescribed team sport activities for boys, and training in the domestic arts for girls through the Camp Fire Girls organization he founded with his wife Charlotte in 1912 (Deloria, 1998, p. 113). In an article titled “Athletics do not test womanliness” Gulick argued against interscholastic sport for girls as too strenuous and encouraging of “unnecessary and undesirable qualities” (1906a, p. 160). Gulick advocated only those physical activities for women that emphasized the graceful and the feminine aesthetic. With the same flexibility of ideology and circular logic that racial recapitulation evinced, Gulick considered the “female athlete” in paradoxical terms – such a figure could only succeed athletically by failing femininity and assuming a monstrous masculinity. In Gulick’s estimation, twelve-year-old girls, were aesthetically and physically superior athletes compared to college-aged women (1906a, p. 160).

“It was not the women who could run, or strike, or throw best that survived. … So that athletics have never been either a test or a large factor in the survival of women …” (1906a, p. 159).

Athletic sports were a “measure of manhood” (1906a, p. 159), a legacy of male ancestry that relied on gendered separation:
Thus we are the survivors of those whose very lives depended upon their ability to run, to strike, and to throw, but whose mental and moral qualities of endurance, pluck, team work, fair play, and the like, were developed in connection with the playing and earnest use of the these exercises. (Gulick, 1906a, pp. 158-159)

In addition to evolutionary theory, Gulick relied upon a metabolic explanation of gender difference that essentialized men as primarily “katabolic” or energy-expending and women as “anabolic” or energy-conserving (1899, p. 145). In Gulick’s circular logic, the masculine traits of energy-expending, self-sacrifice, and group loyalty required for team sport disqualified women from successful participation; a woman participating in vigorous activity not only made an unseemly and perilous spectacle of herself, but if successful, ventured dangerously from the path of proper femininity into the realm of masculinity. Alternately, men averse to team sport endangered their masculine nature. Suturing together the strands of “muscular” and “Christian” Gulick concluded:

If, then the religious life of Anglo-Saxon boys is to include the highest development of his best self, it must be fundamentally katabolic … . The religious life must be energetic and enthusiastic and executive; he must do things, he must do hard things, he must do heroic things. (Gulick, 1899, p. 145)

If we substitute the word “strenuous” for “religious” the rhetoric is strikingly similar to that used in Theodore Roosevelt’s highly influential address titled “The Strenuous Life” delivered to the Hamilton Club in Chicago a month after Gulick’s 1899 publication.

In speaking to you, men of the greatest city of the West, men of the State which gave to the country Lincoln and Grant, men who preeminently and distinctly embody all that is most American in the American character, I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble
ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and strife; to preach that the highest form of success comes, not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph. (1901 Roosevelt, p. 1)

Other affinities the two men shared included their embrace of physical activity in response to a childhood of infirmity, their belief in the primacy of Anglo-Saxon manliness, the promotion of nature as a preservative of masculine virility, and the utility of team sport. Roosevelt directs the Chicago men to take up the “white man’s burden” in the overseas formerly Spanish colonies newly occupied by the United States following the Spanish-American war (1898). This symbiotic relationship between the racializing rhetorics of YMCA sporting pedagogy and presidential masculinity permeated the military and civilian imperial projects of the Philippine-American war (1899-1902) and resulting colonial rule, as the next chapter will elaborate further. Presently, we turn to the contributions of Gulick’s students in the developments of basketball and volleyball.

**Inventor of basketball: James Naismith (1861 - 1939)**

Prior to his arrival in 1890 at the YMCA International Training School in Springfield, Massachusetts, Canadian-Scottish James Naismith had been enrolled in the ministerial program of the Presbyterian College at McGill University. Although McGill was one of the first colleges to include physical education and Naismith participated successfully in the rugby football program, he migrated to the YMCA philosophy that sought to develop Christian ministry through sporting practices, rather than the other way around (Webb 1973, p. 41). The view from the playing field rather than the pulpit, Naismith surmised, would be a better use of his talents and allow him to address the needs of non-churchgoing and working-class men. The sort of men
that Naismith had encountered during his youth working as a lumberjack in Ontario (Webb 1973, p. 15), and would later minister to as a chaplain in the Kansas National Guard starting in 1916 along the Mexican border during Pershing’s Punitive Expedition and later in the French theater of World War I. The YMCA’s mission to guide young men of limited means who might otherwise turn toward the vices of profanity, alcohol, smoking, sex, and criminality, was aimed at men like Naismith whose hardscrabble background was exacerbated by the loss of both parents at a young age. Of utmost concern to the military leadership was the threat venereal disease posed to fighting readiness; Naismith termed his efforts to keep soldiers healthy through wholesome physical activities as “practical preaching” or “strange preaching” (Webb, 1973, p. 179). The “sport in place of gangs” binary of the sinful urban city theorized by Gulick, translated into a “sport in place of prostitution” binary in the context of army garrison life.

Practical preaching, in keeping with the YMCA’s non-denominational approach, had the advantage of casting a wider net by engaging men in the context of their lives rather than the confines of a church of a particular denomination. However, it is worth noting that Naismith as a Presbyterian and Gulick, a Congregationalist, both hailed from Calvinist theological traditions that emphasized orderliness, cleanliness, and submission to authority. These Calvinist tenets permeate the notions of proper, clean and gentlemanly sportsmanship devoid of unnecessary roughness. “The rules of games,” Gulick decreed as one of nine principles of clean sport “are to be regarded as mutual agreements, the spirit or letter of which one should no sooner try to evade or break than one would any other agreement between gentlemen. The stealing of advantage in sport is to be regarded as stealing of any other kind” (Gulick cited in Dorgan, 1934, p. 55). “No action is to be done, nor course of conduct is to be pursued which would seem ungentlemanly or dishonorable if known to one’s opponents or the public” (Gulick cited in Dorgan, 1934, p. 55).


As for decisions made by officials “even when they seem unfair, are to be abided by” (Gulick cited in Dorgan, 1934, p. 55).

As part of the YMCA Springfield football team, Naismith earned his gentlemanly reputation from his classmate and coaching legend Amos Alonzo Stagg who remarked “Jim, I play you at center because you can do the meanest things in the most gentlemanly manner” (Naismith 1996, p. 28). Stagg’s innovations to football added orderliness with the introduction of the huddle, numbered uniforms, and greatly reduced injuries for offensive plays through the additions of the T-formation, forward pass (Putney, 2001, p. 60), lateral pass, and “man in motion” (Rains & Carpenter, 2009, p. 58). Naismith’s account of the development of basketball demonstrated a similar concern over roughness that shaped the game even more than the legendary restriction of winter indoor gymnasium recreation. Ironically, Naismith’s YMCA duties in World War I strayed considerably from gentlemanly pedagogy when he conducted bayonet training (Webb, 1973, p. 215).

Naismith credited Gulick as the inspiration for basketball’s invention in 1891 in response to “the need for some game that would be interesting, easy to learn, and easy to play in the winter and by artificial light” (Naismith, 1996, p. 33) for a “class of incorrigibles” (Naismith, 1996, p. 37) whose primitive “play instincts” were languishing under the boring predictability of individual bodybuilding and gymnastic regimens. “Easy to learn,” for Naismith translated into a ball game without the need of apparatures such as rackets, bats, hockey or lacrosse sticks (Naismith, 1996, p. 45); in addition to a faster learning curve, this requirement made the game more accessible in terms of its affordability. With first-hand knowledge of the pain caused by tackling in rugby and football, Naismith pre-empted the possibility of such play in the harder
indoor environment by restricting running to only those without the ball -- dribbling with the ball being a later innovation (Naismith, 1996, p. 46).

By creating a goal higher than the height of the players, injuries common defensive players in lacrosse and hockey were eliminated. The precision of arcing shots took precedence over the aggressiveness of overhand throwing or high velocity attempts at goal-making (Naismith, 1996, p. 50) – Naismith would have considered the slam-dunk as an excessively individual and somewhat violent play antithetical to the spirit of his original game. The three-point shot rule and the “teardrop” shot in today’s modern game would likely have appealed to Naismith’s game sensibilities that favored skill and precision over mere physical strength or size. Of course, the higher placement of basketball’s goal compared to other goal sports emphasized the advantage of players’ height and undermined the gentlemanly ethos of fair play. Naismith attempted to mitigate the height advantage at least in the instance of the center jump ball by suggesting that referees should vary the height of their throws into the air in which case the players’ judgment of the ball’s descending velocity would help to level the field between opponents of differing heights (Naismith, 1996, p. 85). Over a decade later, Naismith would turn to the problem of the height advantage again by considering the possibility of using a “stretching machine” to increase the height of shorter players (Webb, 1973, p. 416).

Ultimately, the height advantage in both basketball and volleyball were not only inevitable, but also obvious to even casual observers. The lingering questions of how to reduce roughness and encourage gentlemanly conduct would result in basketball’s extensive and

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9 “The slam dunk has captivated the basketball world for a generation with its combination of raw ferocity and balletic grace, but this year a different shot is sweeping the NBA playoffs. It is called the teardrop. It is the antidunk. If the slamdunk is all power, the teardrop is all finesse, a dandelion of a fluff of a shot that is nearly always tossed up by the smallest player on the floor. The teardrop gloats over defenders’ outstretched hands, arcs toward the rafters and then – especially this year – drops through the net with barely a whisper” (Caccioloa, 2013)
legalistic rules about fouls and penalties, both technical and personal, ensuring the necessity of constant surveillance by game officials. Physical educators at the Springfield YMCA conducted urinalysis on high school teams and deemed the game safe for young men under proper regimens of rest and nutrition but potentially dangerous for women and older men (Naismith, 1996, pp. 175-176). The verdict that women required modified rules that prohibited full-court play were not surprising given the prevailing view of women’s unsuitability for strenuous activity, while the concern over older men led directly to the invention of volleyball.

**Inventor of volleyball: William G. Morgan (1870 – 1942)**

“In the thirties,” wrote G. Stanley Hall gloomily intoned in his less well-known work titled *Senescence* “the athletic power passes its prime, for muscular energy begins to abate” (Hall, 1922, p. 366). “For the majority of young children the pleasures of life seem to be essentially over at forty …” (Hall, 1922, p. 76) and “disguise it as we will, old age is now only too commonly a hateful and even ghastly thing” (Hall, 1922, p. 195). While Hall’s theories about adolescence (1904) circulated widely and assured his prominence in developmental psychology, Hall’s melancholy meditation on aging received relatively little notice. Similarly, while the story of basketball’s inventor Naismith and his quest to provide winter exercise for college-aged men is widely known and commemorated, the murkier and less-celebrated origins of volleyball indicate that while Morgan was the undisputed inventor, the conditions of modern volleyball’s emergence were more collective and developed through trial and error.

“Basket ball,” reminisced Morgan “seemed suited to the younger men, but there was need of something for the older ones not quite so rough and severe” (Morgan, 1916, p. 9). The main concern seemed to be over the possibility of “heart strain” in “business men” over forty years of age “because of the possibility of heart strain” (Garland, 1916, p. 35). Claiming no
previous knowledge of any similar game, Morgan, in his duties as Physical Director of the Holyoke, Massachusetts YMCA, began in 1895 to devise a game for older businessmen by suspending tennis net approximately six and a half feet high across the gymnasium. Following the same principal for simplification that his old Springfield colleague Naismith employed, Morgan eschewed the use of any hand-held apparatuses. After determining that a basketball was too heavy and too large for the purpose of batting the ball by hand, Morgan pulled out the inflatable rubber bladder and began knocking it back and forth with Holyoke fire chief John Lynch. The first prototype of the volleyball was literally born from a basketball and benefitted from the development of industrial rubber; Morgan’s commissioning of the A.G. Spalding Brothers factory to create the first official volleyballs was his third major contribution to the game, after the raised net and the continuous rebound features. With respect to the ball itself, Morgan certainly deserves credit for inventing volleyball.\(^\text{10}\)

Morgan chose to call the his new invention “mintonette.” While Morgan considered mintonette to be unlike any other game, the name itself was likely related to the game of “minton,” a variant of badminton developed by British colonials in India that substituted large worsted balls for shuttlecocks (Paul, 1996).

\(^{10}\) A.G. Spalding Brothers manufactured the first basketballs and volleyballs in its plant located in Chicopee, Massachusetts near to Springfield.
Morgan’s former YMCA professor A. T. Halsted, while observing mintonette’s official demonstration at the Springfield YMCA International Training School arranged by Gulick, coined the new name based on the volleying action between opposing teams of five men, one captained by the fire chief Lynch and the other by the mayor of Holyoke J. J. Curran. Halsted’s militaristic reading reflected his expertise in physical education in the area of martial drill and mass calisthenics, the very pedagogical approach that Gulick was attempting to surpass with new team sports. In fact, Halsted’s place in basketball’s history consists of having been one of the unfortunate instructors who had failed to inspire the “class of incorrigibles” with his physical education pedagogy. “Volley ball” as opposed to “mintonette” distanced the name from British and French game traditions making it as distinctively American as baseball, which Morgan had
obviously had in mind when he designated the rule of “nine service innings” per game (Dearing, 2007, p. 56).

In the early stages of the game’s development, the number of players, individual and team contacts with the ball were unlimited, except in the service area and the zone closest to the net marked by a “dribbling” line. “Dribbling” in this sense meant hitting the ball in the air to oneself, rather than the more familiar rebounding off of the floor added to basketball in 1896 (Rains & Carpenter, 2009, p. 59). As long as the ball remained in a continuously rebounding state, play proceeded with heightening dramatic tension created by the as yet undetermined yet inevitable moment of the ball’s death. In versions of hackey sack, the ultimate objective is to prolong the state of rebound that provides enough excitement without the need of an agonistic “us versus them.”

Although Morgan never intended that volleyball should become a competitive sport or compete with basketball for popularity, the continuous rebounding feature assured a certain fascination and delight for both players and spectators, and not only older businessmen. Volleyball appealed to both to Gulick’s “primitive play instincts” and aspired to advanced forms of team sport requiring “team work.” Volleyball was fundamentally about continuous rebound, which when controlled created a feeling of mastery over gravity; give a balloon to a child, and she will readily engage in such pleasures without prompting – evidence of Gulick’s primitive play instinct at work. Rather than being exclusive to male adolescence and early adulthood, volleyball’s geriatric origins eased the passage of this YMCA sport to adoption by groups other than Anglo-Saxon boys and men. The rule of rotation in which everyone rotates and serves guaranteed a role for everyone in the game and encouraged all-around play rather than specialization (Scaife, 1916, p. 18). Volleyball did not require any special surface, was easily
played outdoors, highly portable, and did not require much space or material specificity. In “A New National Game” Cubbon enthused:

The casual observer or newspaper athlete would probably at once relegate it to second place with base ball, foot ball and basket ball as its superiors, but interest has been developing so rapidly that it has a right to challenge for first place. … Baseball requires 4000 square feet and foot ball 1500 square feet per player. These conditions will sooner or later jeopardize the popularity of the game. … The main objection to both of these games from the standpoint of the “cityite” is that too much space is required for the few people who indulge, and in this regard volley ball is ideal in that a maximum number of people can play in comparatively small spaces …. (Cubbon, 1916, pp. 30-31)

Cubbon’s enthusiasm derived from volleyball’s versatility and adaptability, as opposed to the material, space, gender and age restrictions of other games.

Volley ball is neither too vigorous nor too simple. The strenuousness of the game depends upon the group playing it. An agile group of young men will produce a fast and hard game; a group of older men cannot cover the ground fast enough to produce a game which would prove dangerous. The game automatically adjusts itself to all groups. It is the happy medium looked for by play experts. … Team work is the most important factor in successful volley ball competition and at the same time good fellowship is almost always the happy byproduct. The net keeps the players apart, hence personal contact – the feature which is largely responsible for hard feelings in so many games – is eliminated. One of the shortest routes to Americanism today is through the avenue of our athletic sports, and in volley ball the social worker will recognize a game of real democratic value. (Cubbon, 1916, p. 33)
Cubbon’s utopian vision of volleyball as the national game was an urban Progressivist utilitarian vision that made athletics accessible to the masses. In contrast, baseball as the national game hearkened to an American pastoral despite its urban character (Riess, 1995), and developed its national and exclusively male character through the interplay of various regional versions afforded by Civil war experiences. Modern volleyball developed outside of the United States when YMCA physical directors exported the game for military recreation to the Caribbean and the Pacific. Volleyball’s international development explains why Morgan barely recognized his invention by the time he was celebrated for it in 1938 at Springfield College. Morgan’s first set of rules did not include any recommendations for playing technique; Florida State College Director of physical education Katherine W. Montgomery published the first instructional manual titled *Volley ball for women* in 1928. Seemingly in response to Montgomery’s gendered title, YMCA physical director Robert E. Laveaga published *Volley ball: A man’s game* (1933). Laveaga’s pedagogy strongly emphasized etiquette, developing a “Volley ball behavior frequency rating scale.” While the barrier of the net might have minimized ill feelings between opponents, Laveaga sought to maintain good sportsmanship within teams. Examiners observed players and answered a series of “Does he _______?” questions including “hog the ball,” “make alibis for mistakes and deficiencies,” “grouch or crab,” “hurt another’s feelings,” “mind his own business,” “brag, boast, act superior,” “make friends easily,” “use profanity or dirty talk,” and “welcome a new less experienced player in a spirit of helpfulness” (pp. 209-210). Laveaga’s behavioral rating scale reflected the rhythm of a game in which more time was spent in between play sequences than during them, as well as the proximity of players and their ability to affect one another’s enjoyment. Volleyball’s American development as an inclusive recreational game in service of good sportsmanship undermined its conception as serious athletic
competition, thus providing an opening for women’s participation in a team sport that was non-threatening to team sport as a male preserve.
Chapter Three: From “savage” to soldier: sporting pedagogies and the Philippine insurgency

“In Field Sports among the wild men of Northern Luzon”: The strange career of Dean C. Worcester (1866 – 1924)

In much the same way that weapons, measurement devices and teaching sticks were, first and foremost, scepters of the conquering foreigner, so also did the camera function as an instrument of colonial power, demanding the natives’ submission before ingratiating them with promises of amusement and posterity. (Capino, 2002, p. 113)

Beginning with zoological expeditions under the auspices of the University of Michigan during the Spanish colonial period in 1887-88 and 1890-91, Dean Conant Worcester’s status as the first American “Filipinologist,” (E. San Juan Jr.’s term for the Eurocentric pro-imperialist “expert” in the postcolonial tradition of Edward Said’s “Orientalist”) led directly to his appointment on the first two Philippine Commissions (1899-1901), and Secretary of the Interior of the colonial Philippines until 1913.

Worcester’s taxonomy of Philippine peoples created a significant ideological division between the civilized “Christians” i.e. Hispanicized lowland elite Catholics, and uncivilized “non-Christian tribes,” comprised of both Muslim Moros of the southern archipelago and animist indigenous tribes such as the Negritos, Igorots, Ifugaos, or “wild men” of northern Luzon (Worcester, 1914, p. 533). Motivated by opportunities provided by patronage politics, venture capital, as well as the profits of ethnological entertainments, Worcester more than any other colonial official, promoted McKinley’s “benevolent assimilation” ideology through the invention and mass-mediated dissemination of what he determined were “non-Christian tribes” in need of American tutelage and protection.
Figure 8. Dean Worcester with Negrito man. (Dean C. Worcester Photographic Collection, University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology, Retrieved from http://webapps.lsa.umich.edu/umma/exhibits/Worcester%202012/photo_index.html)
Among thousands of photographs Worcester collected over a long Philippine career, the portrait of Worcester standing next to a “full-grown Negrito man” approximately two-thirds his size, succinctly represents Worcester’s colonial fantasy of himself as “the great white father” under the cover of anthropological “science” and responsible colonial governance (Capino, 2002, p. 139). The subjects in the photo are accessorized and positioned in order to optimize their height difference, with Worcester clad in an army hat and boots, and the barefoot unnamed “Negrito man” standing on one leg. The photograph presents slanted evidence of their height difference to serve as visual proof of Worcester’s evolutionary superiority. Worcester subscribed to Austrian ethnologist Ferdinand Blumentritt’s Philippine wave migration theory, positing three separate racial groups, in which the darkest-skinned “Negritos” were ranked at the bottom below the “Indonesian” Muslim Moros, and the “Malayan” ancestors of the Hispanicized Catholics (Report of the Philippine Commission 1900, cited in Kramer, 2006, p. 122). Worcester circulated his portrait with “Negrito man” by catalogue alongside a series of popular lectures delivered to influential audiences in the United States under such titles as “The wild tribes of the Philippines and what has been done for them under American rule” and with films titled “The Headhunters” and “From Savages to Civilization” near the end of his career in the colonial government (Capino 2002, p. 145).

Worcester’s economic ambitions in the Philippine Islands were not limited to ethnographic entertainments, nor was the camera the only aspect of colonial surveillance Worcester wielded; but it was the mass circulation of the “savage” or “wildman” through not only public lectures and films, but also National Geographic (NG) magazine articles and world’s exposition fairs, that ensured the broadest possible impact of Worcester’s anthropological vision as justification for American colonialism. Worcester’s colonial archive accumulated
photographic evidence to visualize the colonial fantasy at the heart of Rudyard Kipling’s poem, “The White Man’s Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands” (1899) in which the “best ye breed” serve the needs of “new-caught, sullen peoples, half-devil and half child” and—in the case of “Negrito man,”—two-thirds sized. In reality, the “white man’s burden” of Worcester’s various colonial schemes would be carried on the backs of native colonial subjects in various forms of agricultural and infrastructure labor (McCoy, 2009, pp. 254-255).

By proliferating images of the “non-Christian tribes,” those indigenous groups of northern Luzon Negritos, Igorots, Ilongs, Ifugaos, Kalingas, Tinians and Moros of the southern islands, Worcester’s photographic archive simultaneously obscured the “Catholic Filipino Indios” from various linguistic groups (e.g. Tagalogs, Ilocanos, Visayans) and social classes reared under Spanish colonial institutions. In short, it excluded all of those Filipinos Worcester’s contemporaries might have considered “modern.” While the archive catalogued a variety of tribal and racial identities, it overwhelmingly emphasized the “uncivilized” state of the Philippines and promoted an expectation of never-ending colonial dependency. Furthermore, those colonial subjects whose racial, tribal, and religious identifications fell outside of Worcester’s neat taxonomy were rendered nearly invisible, certainly illegible. Reynaldo Ileto’s history of 19th century Filipino popular movements demonstrated the revolutionary potential of hybrid practices of Roman Catholicism and indigenous folklore that undermined colonial ambitions (1979). Such hybridity was just what Worcester could not (or would not) classify.

In 1911, Worcester published “Field sports among the wild men of Luzon” in NG magazine, a photographic essay detailing the Commissioner’s first expedition to the region in 1900. Accompanied by a text that is part breezy travelogue and part popular anthropology, the article exemplifies the familiar NG aesthetics of bare-breasted native girls and sinewy native
men engaged in rituals of native dance and animal slaughter. Worcester’s descriptions of “perfectly developed brown bodies … without an ounce of superfluous flesh” and featuring “a beautiful rippling play of perfect muscles” are not only erotic, but have an unsettling ring of assessing human resources for economic exploitation (Worcester, 1911, p. 226). In addition to rich deposits of gold and copper (Kramer, 2006, p. 216), abundant agricultural products of sugar, cotton, tobacco, and rice by way of sophisticated “native” engineering of mountain terraces, Worcester also factored in a potential labor force of native colonial subjects for the grand project of creating the colony’s summer capital.

As an example of colonial progress, the NG article claimed that ten years of tutelage had nearly eradicated the practice of head hunting: “The effort to suppress it has been unexpectedly successful and head-hunting is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, but superabundant animal spirits will inevitably find an outlet, and in this case we have tried, with a good deal of success, to direct them into less turbulent channels by teaching them American athletic games and by encouraging their fondness for dancing” (Worcester, 1911, p. 221). In Worcester’s telling, the native Igorots willingly accept the sporting practices, coaching, and refereeing decisions of the Americans in new foot-racing, tug-of-war, and wrestling contests (Worcester, 1911, p. 229, p. 235). “The competition is both clean and good-natured. … The winners are happy and the losers are good losers” (Worcester, 1911, p. 235).

But the largest claim Worcester makes for the festivities accompanying his annual visits as Secretary of the Interior, allegedly drawing crowds as large as 8000, was the role of peacemaker among intertribal rivalries (Worcester, 1911, p. 216). The colonial governance in the northern Luzon Mountain Province consisted of a collaborative rule by Philippine Constabulary officers and tribal chiefs and was characterized by collective retribution, punitive expeditions of
head-taking, and tolerance of low-level tribal warfare (McCoy, 2009, p. 231). According to Worcester, it was a set of rules informed by the racial principles of social Darwinism.

Yet, this misbehavior was not limited to indigenous non-Christians, as the service of Lieutenant Governor Hale in Kalinga depicted in Worcester’s NG article as “making peace between the towns of Mangali and Lubo” proved (Worcester 1911, p. 253). In other readings, Hale was less of a peacemaker, and more of a bully worthy of Joseph Conrad’s imagination. Eventually expelled from the province by Constabulary officers, Hale spent years attempting to control the rice trade through his private store and famously once told a Filipino trader “Up here, I am God” (Kramer, 2009, p. 231). Such a pronouncement may reveal Hale’s own private hubris, but his heroic portrayal in NG is an example of how such colonial paternalism was encouraged and nurtured by the ethnological gaze.

Peripheral to the photographic antics of the Bontoc Igorots under the tutelage of American soldier-coaches, were Worcester’s textual mentions of “the Bontoc Igorot constabulary soldiers, armed with Krag carbines and uniformed in caps, coats, ammunition belts, and loincloths” (Worcester, 1911, p. 228). In this subtle way, Worcester managed to insert another familiar trope of the native savage uplifted by the American occupiers into native soldiery and police. “In a number of non-Christian provinces,” Worcester intoned in a 1905 photographic index, “men who were at the outset practically naked savages have within a comparatively short time been converted into well trained and efficient soldiers” (p. 624). Thus Worcester, alongside Chief Health Officer Major Burns marshaled anthropological evidence, native informants, and linguistic knowledge with the express purpose of developing a military spy network to infiltrate the “insurrectos” (McCoy, 2009, p. 101; Worcester, 1914, p. 320).
Worcester accompanied Major General Henry W. Lawton during conventional operations of the Philippine-American war in 1899 and credited Lawton with being the first army officer to initiate using Filipinos as soldiers.

He requested the writer to put him in touch with several of the worst ladrone leaders of Cavite and Batangas, in order that he might do with them as he had done with Indians, namely turn them into friends of the Americans and make them useful as soldiers. …

Ultimately, authorization for the organization of a large body of native soldiers as a part of the regular Army was given. The native soldiers were found to be extremely useful in many places where white soldiers were only a nuisance. Owing to their knowledge of languages and localities they were able to get information and to capture ladrones and
other criminals when American troops were practically worthless. These considerations led the Civil Government to organize an insular constabulary force of its own for the maintenance of public order ... These natives have proved themselves to be excellent soldiers when well led. (Worcester, 1905, pp. 623-624)

Worcester pressed ethnological data into the service of counterinsurgent doctrine, colonial paternalism, and commercial enterprise. Worcester, once a collector of zoological specimens, now maintained a powerful position by collecting sensitive information from constabulary records and court filings, and compiled extensive dossiers on potential rivals and Filipino politicians throughout the American colony of the Philippines (McCoy, 2009, p. 101).

The land speculation schemes and colonial intrigues that ultimately profited Worcester (McCoy, 2009, pp. 254-255), benefitted from both covert operations and overt popular productions of “wild men” in need of “civilized” sport and “white fathers.”

“Anthropology Days” and the St. Louis Olympic Games of the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition, 1904

Originally scheduled to be in Chicago, the St. Louis Olympics of 1904 were overtaken, subsumed and relocated by the world exposition Louisiana Purchase Exhibition (LPE) – a consequence of the organizers’ failure to meet the 1903 centenary deadline. While the Olympic games, under the leadership of the exposition’s Chief of Physical Culture James E. Sullivan, fulfilled the quadrennial directive of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), in nearly every other aspect the games failed to deliver the Baron de Coubertin’s vision of elite international amateur competition. Sullivan’s uniquely American Olympiad sprawled over the six-month exposition schedule, in which few international athletes participated (Americans won 233 of the 271 medals), featuring all levels of scholastic competition from various athletic club organizations including the YMCA, and including such non-Olympic events as tug-of-war,
Turnverein mass gymnastics, baseball, basketball, Gaelic and American football (Mallon, 1999, pp. 14-15, p. 24, and pp. 30-31). Interestingly, volleyball appears to have been absent from the expanded program despite official sponsor A. G. Spalding’s potentially profitable position as the original and sole producer of volleyball equipment. In fact, its absence from the 1904 games confirms volleyball’s status then as merely recreational rather than serious athletic competition and unworthy of spectatorship until its reinvention in the Philippines.

Sullivan, also serving as president of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), designed the third Olympiad to highlight the amateur American athlete forged by a newly emergent “national manhood” or “imagined white fraternity” founded on a racial consensus based on white supremacy and post-Civil war reconciliation (Nelson, 1998). Conveniently, Sullivan was also friends with Chicago-based sporting goods manufacturer Spalding, whose company served as the main corporate sponsor of the 1904 Olympics and had helped to smooth over the transfer of the games to St. Louis. The close collaboration of Sullivan and Spalding resulted in the awarding of both “Superior” and “Grand” exposition prizes to the A. G. Spalding Brothers company by the Department of Physical Culture (Lucas, 2004, p. 11). Furthermore, in the absence of an IOC Official Report, Spalding’s official athletic almanac for 1905 stands as the official Olympic record by default, colored by Sullivan’s persistent editorial imperative to align sport with white American supremacy.

The most unusual “sporting” event of the LPE was a joint venture of Sullivan’s Department of Physical Culture and the Department of Anthropology. It was officially called the “Anthropology Days,” in which indigenous people installed on the fairgrounds as ethnological exhibits, engaged in two days of athletic competition under the guise of scientific inquiry, in the hope of boosting interest in the official games (Parezo 2008). The “Anthropology Days” also
called the “Barbarian Games,” were literally a sideshow to the Olympic sideshow of the LPE, a farcical competition which provoked de Coubertin’s lasting disdain, and a flagrant example of Anthropology Department Chief and founding president of the American Anthropological Association William J. McGee’s racialized and amateurish approach to anthropology (Brownell, 2008, p. 15).

In describing the athletic efforts of the various “tribes” of American Indians (Sioux, Chippewa, Crow, Cocopa), African “Pygmy,” “Patagonian,” Filipino (Igorot, Moro, Negrito), Japanese Ainu, and “Asian Syrians from Beirut” in running, jumping, shot put, javelin, archery, and tug-of-war, Sullivan reported:

In the one hundred yards run the savages proved, of course, that they knew nothing whatever about sprint racing. With eight or ten men on the mark it was a pretty hard thing to explain to them to run when the pistol was fired. … It may have been a mistake in not having another day, when perhaps, the different interpreters could have explained to the savages more about what was expected of them, but nevertheless the ‘Anthropology Days’ were most successful and interesting, and ones that scientific men will refer to for many years to come. It taught a great lesson. Lecturers and authors will in future please omit all reference to the natural athletic ability of the savage, unless they can substantiate their alleged feats. (Sullivan cited in Mallon, 1999, p. 209)

Sullivan, despite admission of communication problems and hastily arranged competitions, insisted unconvincingly that the poor athletic performances by the barbarians proved assumptions of superior primitive athletic ability by “lecturers and authors” such as G. Stanley Hall wrong. The notable exceptions in Sullivan’s account of native athletic inferiority were certain Americanized Indians whose superior performances in track and field events were
attributed to American tutelage, and the winner of the 50-foot climbing pole contest in a record time of twenty seconds by a Filipino named Basilio, alternately referred to as an “Igorotte” (Sullivan cited in Mallon, 1999, p. 207) or “Negrito” (Sullivan cited in Mallon, 1999, p. 211). Unlike other sporting events unfamiliar to Filipinos at the LPE, the “greased-pole contest” featured in Worcester’s NG account as “a popular American substitute for head-hunting” (1911, p. 240). Worcester described the failed antics of “a smart constabulary soldier” to reach the money bag atop the 50-foot-pole, and the eventual victor as “a long-haired heathen from the north” (1911, p. 241). This juxtaposition might seem to be a rare admission of the athletic superiority of the uncivilized over the American-trained soldier; but determined to re-read racial inferiority into savage victory, Worcester reassuringly explained climbing pole aptitude as proof of evolutionary proximity to primates such as chimpanzees. Reinforcing this reading, the LPE mass-produced and circulated a photographic image of a Filipino Negrito named Ibag with the caption “missing link,” (Fermin, 2004, p. 170).

In addition to the “Filipino Negritos,” the “African Pygmys” signified blackness, smallness, and savagery in the annals of “Anthropology Days.” Sullivan described the Pygmys as unserious competitors, attracted to the most primitive activities of pole-climbing and mud-throwing contests, and in an “uninteresting exhibition” of their shinny game “showed conclusively the lack of the necessary brain to make the team and its work a success, for they absolutely gave no assistance to each other … a case of purely individual attempt” (Sullivan cited in Mallon, 1999, p. 208).

For fairgoers in a racially segregated American city, the presumed inferiority of blackness guaranteed that even the flimsiest claims of evolutionary science met a receptive and credulous audience. And while the ethnological exhibits of the massive Philippine Reservation
further complicated the ways in which ideologies of race, tribe, religion, civilization, and evolution could appear exotically different, the fundamental evolutionary logic of placing blackness and diminutive size at the opposite end of whiteness and civilization appeared to accrue evidence from other ethnological perspectives.

According to the sport philosophy developed by Gulick, real athletic prowess required civilization and took the form of gentlemanly team sport. Sullivan, as AAU president had worked closely with Gulick to save basketball from the vices of “dirty” professionalism which encouraged a “baser element,” playing merely to win, and motivated by profit (Paret, 1897, p. 224). Gulick, who had left the YMCA in 1903 to become director of physical training for the public schools of New York, was also present at the LPE where his Public Schools Athletic League competed in Sullivan’s Olympics. As a respected scholar of sport, Gulick was recruited to serve as referee for the Anthropology Days, where he famously refused to allow second heats despite widespread confusion in the running events (Parezo, 2008, p. 92). Such officiating helped to reinforce Sullivan’s conclusions about the “savages” as incapable of true sportsmanship if only because they lacked the minimal capacity for understanding the rules.

The undefeated girls’ basketball champions from the Fort Shaw Indian school in Montana proved to be the biggest challenge to Gulick’s exclusive team sport philosophy. Unlike the “Anthropology Days,” Fort Shaw’s games against various opponents, including the Missouri girls’ state championship team, were well-attended and received extensive press coverage. The starting five hailed from four different tribes (Piegan, Assiniboine, Chippewa-Cree, and Shoshone), took part in the LPE Model Indian School exhibit, and played the more vigorous style of “boys’ rules” basketball (Peavy & Smith in Brownell, 2008, pp. 243-245). Since the Fort Shaw girls (as well as all the girls’ teams) failed to fit into Sullivan’s Olympic ideal, he simply
omitted them from the official Olympic record (Parezo, 2008, p. 112). Gulick’s reaction to the basketball performance of Fort Shaw girls was undocumented, and he would eventually institutionalize “playing Indian” in the Camp Fire Girls organization he founded with his wife in 1910 in order to promote domestic skills and lifestyles for young women. Perhaps remembering the Fort Shaw girls, he deliberately avoided camp activities with actual Indians that might undermine his carefully constructed Indian-as-adolescence model (Deloria, 1998, pp. 111-112, p. 121).

From the perspective of the Republican presidents (McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft) who favored annexation, models of American Indian pacification and vocational education could be applied directly to the Philippines. Roosevelt compared General Aguinaldo to Sitting Bull, Tagalogs to Seminoles, and granting self-government to the Filipinos as similar to granting self-government to an Apache local chief (Roosevelt cited in Williams, 1980, p. 827). American governmental bureaucracy categorized governance of the American colonial state of the Philippines under the “Bureau of Insular Affairs” which had its etymological antecedent in the “Bureau of Indian Affairs.”

Spanish colonizers and their descendants distinguished themselves by imposing the term *indios* (Indians) on native Filipino/as, a stereotype weighted with assumptions of inferiority and laziness. Countering the Spanish stereotype, propagandist Jose Rizal and his revolutionary colleagues living in Madrid called themselves “Los Indios Bravos” in honor of the American Indians performing expertly in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show on tour at the Paris Exposition of 1889 (Schumacher, 1997, p. 237; Rydell, 1984, p. 7). The *ilustrados* (enlightened ones) linked “indios” to a revolutionary identity that gestured at the possibility of a broader political movement that transcended colonial categories of ethnicity and class.
The Wild West show also celebrated the useful skills of sharpshooters, and by showcasing the talents of Annie Oakley, demonstrated the entertainment value of women performing traditionally male skills; Oakley was instrumental in recruiting Sioux chief Sitting Bull, who had given her the respectful nickname “Little Sure Shot” (Kasson, 2000, p. 53). Despite the show’s overarching theme of heroic American frontiersmen overcoming the Indian presence on the western Plains, the Wild West show also allowed women and American Indians to profit from militarized professional athletic performances and proved that athletic talents were not exclusive to white men. Worldwide audiences including the imperial aristocracies of Europe and the revolutionary vanguard imbibed the same spectacle of athletic Otherness, drawing from it distinctly different ideological pleasures. When Indians performed well, the interpretation varied from proof of inherent fitness and ability to proof of the effectiveness of civilizing tutelage.

But whatever “indio” had meant a few years earlier in Paris, “Indian savagery” on display at the LPE served as the dominant foil for demonstrating the superior ability and fitness of Hispanicized lowland Christian Filipino/a elites accompanying the Philippine exhibit. For in addition to the indigenous tribes placed on the massive Philippine Reservation, there were also members of the Philippine Honorary Commission, student /as serving as fair interpreters), and Philippine Scouts in attendance. If such Filipino nationalists had hoped their presence at the LPE might help to undo the tribalizing narratives generated by Worcester and other retentionists, they were in fact rendered all but invisible next to the immensely popular spectacles of G-stringed natives and the crowd-pleasing ritualized performances of savagery. Vicente

11 The Pensionado Act passed by the Philippine Commission in 1903 provided funds for qualified Filipino/as to earn college degrees in the United States, mainly in fields related to government and administration.
Nepomuceno lamented “the impression has gone abroad that we are barbarians, that we eat dogs and all that sort of thing, and no matter how long we stay here we cannot convince the public to the contrary” (Nepomuceno cited in Kramer, 2006, p. 275). “Higher type” Visayans bristled at being associated with “savage” Igorots, Moros, and Negritos and complained about sharing the same model schoolroom and having to answer the foolish questions of ignorant Americans (Ramirez cited in Kramer, 2006, p. 273). “Filipinos,” historian Paul Kramer observed “could not be Indians, in other words, because they had ‘their own’ Indians” (2006, p. 124).

The LPE prominently featured highly accomplished martial performances of the First Provisional Battalion of Philippine Scouts in a deliberate demonstration of the U.S. Army’s success at civilizing native Filipinos, and—perhaps less obviously, but no less importantly—building a potentially counterinsurgent force. The shift from conventional to guerilla war combined with the depletion of American military manpower, had led directly to the creation of the Philippine Scouts and signified the shift to modern American counterinsurgency and the application of American team sport tutelage to Filipino armies; both were practical pedagogies, mutually constitutive, and similarly contoured by racialized ideologies of ethnology and physiology.

By identifying the Philippine-American war as the beginning of modern American counterinsurgency, I recognize that “racialized warfare” exploiting tribal differences among American Indians certainly existed previously, but that the introduction of modern techniques of surveillance (photography, fingerprinting, information-gathering), mass communication (telegraph, world’s expositions, cinema), military professionalization, and civilian bureaucracy in the Philippines intensified and extended its reach. If the first phase of a modern military-sport industrial complex began with the introduction of organized athletics to American soldiers in the
1890s (Pope, 1995), the second phase of colonial tutelage demonstrated the exportability and adaptability of military and sporting practices. Colonial histories of sport in the Philippines typically focus on physical education delivered through the public school system, while briefly acknowledging the military’s initial introduction of sport (Beran, 1989; Gems 2006). By tracing the military traditions of sporting tutelage through the formation of the Philippine Scouts, the affinity of counterinsurgency with sport becomes apparent.

From the very outset, concern about the viability of European Americans in the tropical climate weighted the balance in favor of arming Filipinos for the U.S. colonial enterprise. Medical concerns about white subjects in tropical climates converged in a new pathology called “tropical neurasthenia,” sometimes called “philippinitis,” broadly encompassing various nervous disorders and physical weaknesses that supposedly indicated white racial unsuitability to such adverse environmental conditions as too much sunlight, heat, alcohol, and/or “intemperate” food (Anderson, 2006, p. 138). Melancholia associated with soldiers’ experience of garrison life echoed the observations of a sanitary officer of the previous Spanish colonial period who had identified military personnel as particularly susceptible to the “moral suffering” of nostalgia (Codorniu cited in Anderson, 2006, p. 77).

In addition to moral suffering, historian Reynaldo Ileto described the psychological toll on occupying armies caused by the unpredictable nature of irregular warfare; derisively termed “amigo warfare,” by American soldiers to describe Filipino deceptiveness and cunning such insurgent tactics also reflected “the Filipino experience of dealing with a superior force through various mechanisms, like feigning defeat, playing dead, shifting identities, allowing oneself to bend with the wind like the bamboo” (Ileto, 2002, p. 7). Garrisoned American troops exhibited frustration with their mission of “benevolent assimilation” and identified the insurgents’ military
strategy as negative racial traits rather than military tactics. “No army,” wrote Major C. J. Crane “was ever so blindly generous and forbearing as was ours in the Philippines, although fighting the most treacherous people in the world, a people who mistook justice for lack of brains and our leniency for cowardice” (Crane, 1902, p. 496). In prosecuting counterinsurgent strategy, American soldiers inhabited nearly all major town centers in groups of 25 or more by mid-1900, adopting the *querida* (mistress) system of short-term sexual relationships with local Filipinas, and living uneasily among hidden insurgents (de Bevoise, 1995, p. 43). While military training and sanitary medicine had made advances in the decade leading up to the Philippine-American war, the epidemiological challenges were daunting:

Health records document in detail the fact that every regiment of the U.S. Army had large and often astounding sick lists almost from the moment of arrival until departure a year of more afterward. Every unit was heavily infected with malaria, dysentery, and venereal disease at all times, and some had intermittent or continuing trouble with typhoid and small pox as well. Individual soldiers presented the entire range of tropical disease, which accounted for 3,693 deaths among U.S. troops in the Philippines during 1898-1902. More significant from the standpoint of disease transmission were the nearly half-million reported cases of illness in the army – four times more than the number of soldiers who served. (de Bevoise, 1995, p. 42)

But in this moment when medical concerns threatened the U.S. colonial project in the Philippines, a sport-centered organization was on hand to help. The YMCA’s capacity to serve American military personnel in medical prevention stemmed from nearly 1500 YMCAs with over 250,000 members and over 1300 trained secretaries. Having received official authorization to undertake Army and Navy work in 1895 (Lancaster, 1987, p. 20), the International Committee
of the YMCA mobilized early in the Spanish-American war, arriving on the third Philippine expedition from San Francisco (Lancaster, 1987, p. 23). By 1901 the YMCA served 50,000 military personnel from 606 different locations (Pond cited in Lancaster, 1987, p. 33). The sort of “practical preaching” the YMCA offered military men came in the form of 40 by 60 foot tents, reading and correspondence materials, bibles and athletic equipment (Pond cited in Lancaster, 1987, p. 22). As the military blended into civilian government, the YMCA expanded its mission to “American young manhood thousands of miles away from home … literally surrounded by all the temptations of a wicked Oriental city” (Collins, cited by Fitch, 1901, p. 19).

At the 1901 YMCA conference of secretaries in the Philippines, M. G. Bailey lamented that the climate effectively reduced physical activity to “an occasional game of ‘ball,’” and I believe the secret of their activity is due to the fact that it only takes nine men to represent a company or regiment” (cited by Fitch, 1901, p. 17). While drinking and gambling remained soldiers’ preferred activities, the diffusion of baseball throughout the Philippine barrios and villages provided an informal vehicle of positive social interaction with Filipino/as that had the advantage of minimal language requirements. Unlike later military mobilizations of World War I, baseball did not have to compete with basketball or football in the Philippines. Furthermore, in no small part due to the efforts of A.G. Spalding, baseball was also gaining consensus as the U.S. national game, its skills seen as translatable to every masculine endeavor, and a particular affinity for “following the flag” (Spalding, 1911, p. 14). “Base ball,” declared Spalding (1911, p. 5) “is War!”

Baseball, it was agreed by two leading figures of the counterinsurgent campaigns in the Philippines, signified more than a distraction from temptations to American soldiers. “Baseball had done more to ‘civilize’ Filipinos than anything else,” declared General Franklin Bell (cited
in Gems, 2006, p. 49). Frederick Funston, celebrated as the counterinsurgent who successfully commanded native Macabebe Scouts in the capture of Philippine leader General Aguinaldo, had suggested baseball’s ability to unify men across racial lines in an 1894 Harper’s article in which he had recounted a baseball game in Herschel Island, Alaska:

From the ships were Americans, a hundred or more, men from every seafaring nationality of Europe – Chinese, Japanese, Malays from Tahiti and Hawaii. The colored brother, too, was there, a dozen of him, and several of the players were negroes. Esquimaux of all ages were everywhere, while the red men were represented by the eleven wiry fellows who had snowshoed with me from their home valley of the Yukon. One day I noticed that in a little group of eleven, sitting on an overturned sled watching a game, there were representatives of all the five great divisions of the human race. (Funston cited in Spalding, 1911, p. 374)

Baseball, was not only the primary form of team sport recreation available to the American soldier but was almost certainly one tool for the Americanization of the Philippine Scouts and the development of an “esprit de corps” between them and the white American officers. By the time of baseball’s glory days in the colonial state under the governorship of W. Cameron Forbes, the baseball bat was situated as the civilizing alternative to the bolo, a maxim that suggested martial roots as well as another reductive formulation of savage uplift (Association Men, 1913, p. 515. If baseball failed to save neurasthenic American soldiers from the sick list, it might at least succeed in training an effective native Filipino Scout.

Counterinsurgent logic identified the Macabebes of Pampanga province as excellent candidates for the Philippine Scouts, given their effective military service to Spain against various Philippine independence movements and ethnic hatred for the Tagalog-led Republic (Linn, 2000, p. 128). Army Lieutenant Matthew A. Batson organized the 100-man First
Company, Macabebe Scouts for river operations in 1899, since they already had expert *banca* (canoe) skills allowing them to operate stealthily in units of 4-6 men at speeds of 8-10 miles per hour to conduct reconnaissance (Woolard, 1975, pp. 3-4). Furthermore, the Macabebe under the Tagalog language, were able to identify individual insurgents, knew the region’s geography, and, as the military command often liked to observe, only cost half the pay of their American counterparts in Mexican pesos rather than gold (Woolard, 1975 p. 10). “When the Scout requires the same food, clothing and equipment as the white soldier his special value will be gone” (Major General J.F. Weston cited by Woolard, 1975, p.153). The Scout only requires “one half the pay of his American counterpart and little more than one-half the ration, and the first enlistment cost of the Scout is perhaps a bit more than a third of an American soldier’s” (Major General W. P. Duvall cited by Woolard, 1975, pp. 156-158).

The repetition of this observation throughout the war, fit alongside prevalent “little brown brother” rhetoric but also argued for the feasibility of a fiscally responsible approach to imperial wars. The smaller size and more modest requirements of the Philippine scout vis à vis a U.S. soldier, rather than signifying inferiority, was evidence of martial efficiency. The addition of Scouts, Major General Leonard Wood believed, helped him to consolidate his forces and minimized health risks to Americans by restricting them to carefully inspected sanitary conditions, in addition to saving money (Woolard, 1975, p. 147).

Furthermore, the Macabebe Scouts also served in the useful role of scapegoat for war atrocities; besides the burning of villages, destruction of crops, and reconcentration of populations that were all allowed under martial law. Accusations of sexual violence against civilians or the administration of torture through the “water cure,” a precursor to the current practice known as “water boarding,” was attributed to the Macabebe Scouts instead of American
troops, thus underscoring the necessity of keeping the Scouts under U.S. leadership (Woolard, 1975, pp. 41-42). Even more telling, in the following passage, was the degree to which the Macabebes’ “uncivilized” methods were effective complements to, as well as the conditions of, possibility for the “civilized” U.S. officer:

The results of the work of the Macabebe scouts in this expedition as well as the preceding one, can not be fully stated in guns and insurgents captured, the amount of fear in the native population, especially in the insurgents, inspired by the Macabebes, being of much greater value than the actual number of arms taken or prisoners captured … (Brigadier General F. D. Grant, cited by Woolard, 1975, pp. 75-76)

Tribe, language, or provincial group classified scout units, thus formalizing an ethnological approach to counterinsurgent training. The Bicolos were perceived as “peace-loving, contented, industrious and brave” while Ilocanos overcame American suspicions (due to their previous association with the Philippine Republic) to be praised for qualities of physical fitness and personal reputation (Woolard, 1975, p. 73, p. 57). Effective counterinsurgent strategy relied on ethnological study as a pragmatic military science for identifying and training colonial native soldiers. While the Scouts operated in segregated ethnic groupings in the Philippines, the First Provisional Battalion of Scouts mustered for the LPE was comprised of four formerly separate units of Macabebes, Ilocanos, Tagalogs, and Visayans (Woolard, 1975, p. 130). For Secretary of War and first Governor-General of the Philippines Taft, the unified battalion represented successful American tutelage and disciplined Filipino subjects capable of overcoming ethnic rivalries in the spirit of martial service.

As military operations for the Scouts declined with the declared end of the war in 1902, the cultural mission to display the Scouts as counterevidence to anti-imperialist criticism
intensified, culminating in the highly visible presence of the Scouts at the LPE. Yet in the perception of many white LPE fairgoers, the popularity of “little brown men” in military uniform among white women was both threatening and confusing to the racial and sexual boundaries of Jim Crow.

St. Louis has a new problem to solve. What shall it do with the little brown men? The problem is how and where to draw the color line on the Filipinos who have been brought to the Fair. To what extent if any shall the tanned tribesmen of the tropics be permitted to associate with their white assimilators? … They are slender little fellows, effeminate in size, but they are natty and neat. They range in color from dark brown to “light black,” and some of them are as ugly as sin, but others are not so bad looking but that foolish girls who saw them were able to find some excuse of admiring them. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 3 July 1904, p. B3)

Ironically, the Scouts in St. Louis had, in at least an organizational way, transcended the tribal boundaries of the Philippines, only to find themselves mired in a “civilized” culture segregated along a black-white racial binary. On July 6, a confrontation between twenty white U.S. marines and the Scouts led to a major disruption and the end of the Scouts’ accompaniment of white women off of fairgrounds by order of the commander (Kramer, 2006, p. 279). Ultimately, however, the Scouts exhibited self-restraint and conformed to Taft’s triumphalist vision of a pacified and civilized Philippine dependency. Thus the Philippine Scouts of the American colonial imaginary confirmed the possibility of Filipino evolution under American tutelage; the civilizing transformation from savage-athlete to soldier-athlete ascribed to the martial and sporting pedagogies devised by their American officers. Soon, the project of the
Filipino citizen-athlete would take precedence in the shift toward Americanization and eventual Philippine independence.
Chapter Four: Inventing volleyball in the American colonial state of the Philippines

The birth of the “bomba”

Mimicry is, thus the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which ‘appropriates’ the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an immanent threat to both ‘normalized’ knowledges and disciplinary powers (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86).

In 1911, at the request of the Philippine Bureau of Education, International YMCA physical director Elwood S. Brown (1883-1924) introduced volleyball to Filipino government employees training at the summer colonial capital, Baguio. The assignment represented a shift from Brown’s initial task of providing physical education to Americans in colonial service in YMCA facilities, to imparting American physical education to Filipino colonial subjects. Brown was keenly aware of the potential impact the training program would have on physical education throughout the Philippines, as each of his Filipino teacher trainees would end up instructing approximately 300 additional Filipino teachers (Brown, 1912, p. 8).

Brown’s account of the colonial encounter via volleyball posited a racialized tautology in which he equated the “direct” style of American play with good sportsmanship, rendering the more “teasing” Filipino style of play a confirmation of the dire need of colonial physical education:

The reason for the rule allowing the Americans to strike the ball any number of times on one side of the net and the Filipinos only three times, does not lie in a whim of the
rulemakers, but is an exemplification of a fundamental difference in the two races. The American does everything direct – in volley ball each man usually tries to put the ball into the opponent’s territory every time he hits the ball. The Filipino does things indirectly, he likes to tease the mouse awhile – in volley ball to pretend that he is about to put it over the net and then not do so. (Brown, 1916, p. 55)

The Filipinos were not violating any of Morgan’s original rules, but in Brown’s tautology their style of play was equivalent to bad sportsmanship, and therefore at odds with YMCA pedagogies that stressed “gentlemanly,” “clean,” “straightforward” sport. In Brown’s estimation, his Filipino charges were missing out on the social rewards of volleyball central to YMCA pedagogies of team sport. What was undoubtedly confounding for Brown, was that the indirect style of play exploited the element of surprise and rewarded “sneaky” play. In creating the three-hit limit rule, Brown imposed a more direct style of play onto Filipino players, in the hope of infusing them with the values of direct, straightforward American “sportsmanship.”

Sportsmanship as imposed by Brown’s mandatory rule would merely mimic a voluntary, and therefore superior, American sportsmanship, but this was the best Brown could hope for, as colonial systems of education assumed that native subjects had racially-prescribed limitations.

Unexpectedly, Brown’s rule would transform Morgan’s game from the leisurely unlimited volleys of parabolic trajectories, to the faster modern style of play incorporating the three strokes now commonly referred to as the bump, set and spike:

The Filipinos have developed an interesting play called the “Bomba,” or kill. The player who gives the ball the killing swat is called the “Bomberino.” The “Bomberinos” usually play in the second line from the net. On the first stroke [the pass] allowed the player taking it tries to bat the ball to a point in his own court near the net. On the second stroke
[the set] one of the net men bats the ball straight up, high into the air, so that it will fall very close to the net. On the third and last stroke one of the “Bomberinos” comes in on the run, jumps high into the air, meets the ball as far above the net as he can jump and reach and smashes it down into the opponent’s court. (Brown, 1916, pp. 55-56)

Figure 10. The “bomba” or spike at the 1913 interscholastic series held in Manila. (National Archives, Bureau of Insular Affairs, Bureau of Education, Box 13, File 7, Cd-14-9)

Brown’s description is an important record that succinctly catalogues the Filipino contributions to the modern game, (the equivalent perhaps of knowing the history of how the pitch, hit, and catch became the key elements of baseball), but is all the more remarkable for revealing the racialist rationale that served as the inspiration. Brown’s report provided a complete accounting of the Filipino contributions to the game from “sneak” plays, to the characteristic three strokes, and the beginnings of player specialization that effectively rang the death knell of Morgan’s original game of parabolic volleys. Volleyball’s official governing body, the Fédération Internationale de Volleyball (FIVB) abridged the Filipino contribution to the
creation of a solitary spike, ripped from its context to stand apart from the two strokes that comprise the necessary conditions of its possibility. The late timeline entry of 1920 (seven years after the photographic record above) curiously states, "The Philippines developed the first kind of spike. It was known as the 'Filipino Bomb,' and it was a pretty lethal weapon in its day" (FIVB 1995, reprinted by the Volleyball Hall of Fame). Perhaps the reference to lethality derived from the surprising effect such a stroke would have on players accustomed to Morgan's geriatric style of play. "First kind of spike" and "in its day," suggests the Filipino bomb's obsolescence rather than a stroke with a continuing legacy and tradition. While the "bomberino" at the center of the photograph above is blurry, the height of the jump and extension of his arms demonstrate a contemporary spiking form that appears quite contemporary. Perhaps the charismatic quality of the spike, similar to the powerfully dramatic slam-dunk of basketball, obliterated notice of the other strokes as well as the leisurely pace of the original game.

The term “bomba,” like the game it was created for, extended the tradition of using war metaphors in the description and nomenclature of sport. The "lethal" bomba implied an explosive violence that demonstrated how far volleyball had strayed from its original Holyoke incarnation as a less strenuous game for the elderly. But aside from YMCA sport pedagogies, it is worth asking what the genealogy of “the bomb” was in the Philippine context? One notable example of the bomb appeared in nationalist writer Jose Rizal’s novel El Filibusterismo (1891), in which his protagonist, Ibarra, plots to explode a bomb at a gathering of prominent clerical authorities and Filipino elites in an attempt to end Spanish rule. The experiences of the Philippine-American (1899-1902) wars and continuing guerilla skirmishes would have also provided ample imagery of bombs in public memory. Additionally, the massive American construction effort—utilizing
explosives—to build the road from Manila to Baguio, comprised a third popular site of the bomb in recent Philippine memory.

In an effort “to actively engage a corpus of historical artifacts” (Capino, 2002, p. 8) as “objects to interpret and think with” (Capino, 2002, p. 9), this chapter will consider the meanings attending volleyball and other sporting practices in the American colonial state of the Philippines, to evince dialogue “between colonial subjects and their postcolonial counterparts” (Capino, 2002, p. 31). Postcolonial approaches encourage the interrogation of official histories by attending to the obscured and secret histories that creatively disrupt mutually reinforcing accounts of racialized, gendered, and national hierarchies. The accounts of the colonizer, often unintentionally reveal the fissures and inconsistencies of the colonial educational apparatus. Thus the agency of the subaltern subject emerges indirectly from the colonial archive.

Reading from our contemporary postcolonial position, it is clear that the “indirect” method of Filipino volleyball players demonstrated greater skill, coordination, and more sophisticated teamwork than was legible to Secretary Brown, reading it, as he was, through a lens of colonial assumptions about racial inferiority. Equally illegible to Brown, was the possibility that the old American style of simply trying to return the ball directly was an unsophisticated form of play by comparison, a style that would eventually—and ironically—be labeled with the derogatory epithet “jungle ball” in contemporary volleyball vernacular. The bomba effectively exploded Brown’s assumptions of racial inferiority, at least in the context of volleyball, and the lasting impression in Brown’s account is one of astonishment: “I wish you could see these Filipinos play volley ball. The game seems to have been made to order for them – twenty-five or more passages of the ball over the net are actually daily occurrences. I have never seen such skill at this game as they display” (Brown, 1912, p. 8). Astonishment at the
abilities of the Filipinos was not uncommon in the annals of physical education, but rarely was admiration independent of colonial tutelage.

“Fifteen years ago the only game known in the country was ‘sipa’ – a small bamboo ball kicked back and forth between two lines of players – and the chief public diversion was cock fighting” (Brown, 1913a, p. 479). Sipa, was not merely an indigenous folk game in the Philippines, but was a regional variation of the royal Malaysian game "sepak takraw" chronicled in the 15th century “Sejarah Melayu,” or “Malaysian annals” (Brownfoot, 2003, p. 150, n. 6).

Sepak takraw players use their feet and head to pass a rattan ball back and forth, and later versions of the game added a net and court dimensions similar to badminton. From playing sipa, Brown’s Filipino students would have experienced cooperative team-oriented games featuring continuous rebound, putting them in a strong position to reinvent volleyball.

Brown’s astonishment at their ability was made possible by his underestimation of the complexity and pedagogical applications of sipa, and his a priori belief that American team sports were more sophisticated than others. By reading the fissures of Brown’s account, the secret history of volleyball becomes clear and it was unnamed Filipino government employees who launched Morgan’s game into its modern, much more sophisticated form. The Filipino reinvention of volleyball caught Secretary Brown off guard and revolutionized the game beyond recognition. Brown’s surprise only makes sense when excavated for its discursive roots, roots that lie beneath the American colonial imaginary of Filipino subjects. A genealogy of that imaginary reveals Brown’s imperial tautology as well as the creative rather than merely mimicked responses countering assumptions of native inferiority at the heart of colonial tutelage.

Historical accounts of American physical education in the colonial Philippines give at most, passing reference to volleyball and its subsequent development through inter-Asian
competition under the auspices of the Far Eastern Championship Games (FECG). In chapter long surveys, historians Janice A. Beran (1989) and Gerald Gems (2004, 2006) broadly sketch the transmission and reception of American sporting practices that reveal a complex interplay of military, civilian, sanitary, business, and missionary interests invested in the formation of the modern Filipino citizen-athlete. While Beran ultimately affirmed sport's role in the colony as a benevolent agent of progress, Gems' work reflects the postcolonial turn and positions sport inside of rather than separate from imperialism and considers sport formation as a transnational, syncretic, dialogic process.

In evaluating the impact of American athletic pedagogy, Beran's answer to her titular query "Imperialism or Progress through Sport?" stated:

Except for the Muslims in the south, the Filipinos were intrigued by and receptive to American sport. They were pliable, accommodating, hospitable and accepted American ideology, as expressed through sports, with remarkably little resistance. In fact, they embraced it enthusiastically. The opportunity to play in a team, to wear attractive sports uniforms, to use imported equipment, and to travel to other locales encouraged student participation and enhanced the appeal of sports. (Beran, 1989, p. 82)

Beran’s conclusion reflects her study’s emphasis on the public education system, only briefly considering the roles of adults, the U.S. military, YMCA missions, and elite international amateur competition. Filtered through the sentimental perceptions of Filipino/a children in colonial public schools, Beran preempted an imperialist critique drifting instead into an idealistic vision of sport. “It seems that the introduction of sport was a happy instance, almost a serendipity, of Americans sharing something so meaningful …” (Beran, 1989, p. 82). Beran noted “the sight of soldiers teaching children without pay was an object lesson in the policy of
attraction” and the equal treatment of children regardless of social status popularized and paved the way for formal public instruction (Beran, 1989, p. 69). The ultimate aim of public instruction to uplift and Americanize Filipino/as was guided powerfully by the use of English and the adoption of an extensive physical education program. In Beran’s account, the transition from soldier tutelage to professional teachers seems benign and unremarkable. By considering colonial education, both in its informal military and formal civilian forms, as a calculated means of gaining adherents to colonial rule, we suspect more than a benevolent authority, discerning instead a page out of the counterinsurgent playbook.

On the other side of the debate, historian Constantino revealed the stakes of public education as more than simple benevolence in a famous essay entitled “The miseducation of the Filipino”:

The ideal colonial was the carbon copy of his conqueror, the conformist follower of the new dispensation. He had to forget his past and unlearn nationalist virtues in order to live peacefully, if not comfortably, under the colonial order. The new Filipino generation learned of the lives of American heroes, sang American songs, and dreamt of snow and Santa Claus. The nationalist resistance leaders exemplified by Sakay were regarded as brigands and outlaws. The lives of Philippine heroes were taught but their nationalist teachings were glossed over. Spain was the villain, America was the savior. (Constantino cited in Schirmer & Shalom, 1987, p. 47)

Constantino’s article originally appearing in 1966, resonated with other revisionist histories critically aimed at American foreign policy in Vietnam and the special roles of military base and navy flotilla dutifully played by the Philippines as a direct legacy of the American colonial relationship. Without rejecting Constantino’s assessment outright, Beran attempted to
preserve sport as separate from imperial strategy, as a shining example of colonial tutelage. The specter of Constantino’s ideal colonial as carbon copy continues to provoke critical approaches to the American colonial period that is ongoing, despite its deterministic political rhetoric. Gems offered a nuanced middle course in between Beran and Constantino that encourages a dialectic, hybrid study of sport as shaped by multivalent forces and agents of the Philippine-American encounter.

Gems (2004) recognized Beran’s contribution to the introduction of American sport in the Philippines as “seminal and insightful,” but correctly assessed her conclusion of relatively beneficent assimilation as lacking the benefit of “more recent studies of imperialism, colonialism and acculturation” (p. 2). Taking a longer view, Gems observed the limitations of American educational system in terms of English language acquisition, with only 26 percent of Filipino/able to speak English after forty years of colonial rule, and a 40 percent illiteracy rate by 1948 (Gems, 2006, pp. 63-64). Gems’ analysis concludes with the observation that Filipinos “ultimately learned from the Americans, adopted or adapted those cultural forms that they deemed most important or applicable, and combined them with their existing native practices to form a negotiated hybrid culture with its own ideas, beliefs and practices” (2004, p. 11). Gems’ analysis of racialized and gendered dynamics e.g. the emasculation of Filipino males through domestic service (2006, p. 50), and segregated cultures of leisure at the summer capital of Baguio (2006, p. 51), pointed the way towards a more contextual approach to sporting practices in the Philippines. In his discussion of Filipino welterweight boxing champion Ceferino Garcia, the “bolo-puncher,” Gems attained his most fervent claim for sport’s ability to challenge racial dogma stating: “In such a context the racially superior attitudes espoused by whites held no
validity, as even the poorest and uneducated of the masses could make sense of the results of a boxing match. Sport provided the great equalizer” (Gems, 2006, p. 62).

A secret history of volleyball certainly falls within Gems’ understanding of sport as a hybrid cultural practice, but unlike Garcia’s legacy of a world champion boxer who uplifted the masculinity of Filipino migrant workers in Depression-era Los Angeles, the invention of volleyball by Filipinos lacked a singular heroic figure (España-Maram, 2006, p. 81). Moreover, its conception as a practice suitable for boys and girls, young and old, preempted its possibility as masculine restorative. Volleyball’s invention by unnamed Filipinos as a response to a racially imposed rule denotes a collective rather than an individual heroism; it denies the colonizer’s claim of the native as an inferior mimic, draws upon folk gaming traditions unbounded by nation, and bequeaths a tradition of flexibility, innovation, inclusion, and accessibility. Its history is often obscured by other sports, or by the charge of being less than manly and thus inferior. Rather than being an “equalizer,” volleyball’s Filipino invention did more than “beat the other at his own game” (Diaz, 2002, p. 193); faced with a disadvantageous rule, it transformed the other’s game. For these reasons as well as the Philippine historical context and cultures of volleyball that have since evolved, I consider volleyball to be an “insurgent” game, a response to colonial tutelage in which the student transforms from "carbon copy" mimic to master innovator in response to disadvantageous rule.

**Elwood S. Brown and the origin of volleyball in the Philippines**

According to *Spalding’s official volley ball rules* “The first volleyball seen in the Orient was taken there in the trunk of Elwood S. Brown (1883-1924), who went out as physical director of the Manila YMCA in 1910” (1922, p. 32). Although A.G. Spalding had been producing volleyballs prior to 1910 under inventor William G. Morgan’s specifications, I have not been
able to find evidence of the Spalding volleyball in the Philippines prior to Brown, but that does not necessarily rule out the possibility of an earlier arrival. In addition to modern sporting equipment and YMCA pedagogy, what other relevant cultural “baggage” did Brown carry with him? Brown’s cultural knowledge of the Philippines would have certainly included the well-publicized Philippine Exhibition of the LPE, if not actual attendance given his mid-western roots in Cherokee, Iowa and subsequent physical education career in Illinois at the time of the exposition.¹²

Even without attending the fair, Brown’s association with the YMCA would have meant a certain familiarity with Gulick’s sporting philosophies and Hall’s notion of racial recapitulation. As an American athletic missionary, Brown fit into historian Mark Dyreson’s mold of inventors “of the new technology of athletism” who were “overwhelmingly from or sympathetic to the new professionalizing American middle class” whom, along with Europeans, comprised Brown’s initial target audience (1992, p. 71). Inasmuch as Brown considered physical work to be a form of restorative or preventive medicine, his understanding of “tropical neurasthenia” or “Philippinitis” provides insight into how he understood the challenges and psychological dimensions of white colonials enmeshed in an adverse tropical environment.

The symptoms are many and are easily recognized: (1). Extreme irritability and impatience, a condition of mind that will make a member, upon getting a bad piece of meat in the Association café, pick up his plate, walk around angrily calling for a secretary, thrust the meat under the secretary’s nose, and invite him to smell the “rotten

¹² Brown had had a typically peripatetic and broad range of physical education experience first as Student Director of Athletics at Wheaton College, YMCA Secretary in training at the Central YMCA in Chicago from 1898 to 1903, a season coaching varsity basketball at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign in 1904, and prior to his departure for the Philippines, as Physical and then Social Director of the Salt Lake City YMCA from 1905 to 1910 (Elwood S. Brown YMCA biographical information file, University of Minnesota Kautz Family YMCA Archives).
stuff.” The very same man at home would quietly put the offending meat to one side and say nothing at all, or at most, speak to the person in charge about it. (2). A dislike of the native and all his ways. (3). A constant wish for rain during the long dry season, for dry weather during the long rainy season, and for cool weather all the time. (4). A tendency to compare the monotonous climate here to that of Washington, Illinois, Massachusetts, Georgia, or wherever the victim comes from. (5). A notion that strenuous exercise is dangerous in a hot climate. (6). Cussing the policy of government. Many a man, easy-going and even tempered at home, is afflicted with one or all of these symptoms after a sojourn in this Mañana country. Nerves are raw, and tempers are on edge, over here where the weather is always hot and politics rave. “Philippinitis” is one of our unsolved problems and a very definite and ever present difficulty, particularly when we, ourselves, get a touch of it. The only known antidote is to keep bright and untarnished one’s sense of humor. (Brown, Annual Report 1914, p. 23)

The tropical neurasthenia of Brown’s imagination is carefully observed and reflects an intimate knowledge of the sometimes petty quality of colonial experience; a weariness of dealing with neurasthenics that helps to explain Brown’s greater enthusiasm for his later work with Filipinos. Within a year, Brown’s mission expanded beyond the European and American community to various initiatives aimed at Filipinos. “Filipinization” was the term used for the American colonial government’s new directive of “Philippines for Filipinos.” A representative legislature had been established in 1907, elected by property-qualified Filipinos, and colonial and civil service opened up to Filipino participation. The Filipinization agenda at last culminated with Congress’ passage of the Jones Bill of 1916, promising eventual independence to the Philippines. For the YMCA, Filipinization meant a shift from competing with the “Columbia
Club” for dwindling white membership, to the cultivation of Filipinos as members and fundraisers for YMCA buildings (Clymer, 1986, pp. 52-53). The YMCA’s ambitious plans included the creation of three new separate facilities for Filipinos beginning in 1911 (Ylanan & Ylanan, 1965, pp. 20-21). In 1907, the first swimming pool in the Philippines was completed at the Fort McKinley YMCA followed by a second pool at the Manila YMCA in 1910 (Ylanan & Ylanan, 1965, p. 21). These facilities, the only ones capable of offering swimming and aquatic safety instruction, reflected the YMCA’s pragmatism and innovation, features that helped Filipino Catholics overcome their initial concerns about Protestant proselytizing.

Additionally, the Protestant-rooted YMCA membership rules developed a dual standard to allow for greater Filipino participation: while Americans were required to be of good standing in a Protestant evangelical denomination, Filipinos could join as members of good standing in either a Protestant or Catholic church (Clymer, 1986, p. 104). Catholic recruitment to YMCA membership was viewed suspiciously by the Catholic hierarchy, with some students facing expulsion from Catholic schools if they joined (Clymer, 1986, p. 104). By emphasizing physical work and submerging evangelism into the language of moral fitness, the YMCA of the Philippines founded in 1911 carved out a new niche in Manila society, gaining the participation of Filipino elites in raising building funds and serving on the board of directors (Ylanan & Ylanan, 1965, p. 20). Interestingly, the need for buildings was a direct consequence of the YMCA’s official policy of segregation in Manila (Gems, 2006, p. 61). In considering the physical needs of Filipinos, tuberculosis came to replace tropical neurasthenia as medical adversary.

“Volley ball is a great contributory factor in our campaign for health – in the fight to reduce the annual number of victims claimed by old George W. Tuberculosis” (Brown, 1916, p.
Brown’s arrival in Manila in 1910 coincided with the establishment of the Philippine Islands Antituberculosis Society (PIAS) a state-funded and philanthropic organization focused on prevention and education (Moralina, 2009). Reporting in the *Philippine Journal of Science*, U.S. Army Medical reservist Isaac W. Brewer, noting the high mortality rate in Manila from 1903 to 1908 believed:

... the climactic conditions of these islands are such that the people should lead an outdoor life and be free from tuberculosis. ... The habitation of the native Filipino is badly ventilated, and, in most instances, is very dirty. ... The Filipino is a great expectorator and deposits his sputum whenever and wherever most convenient ...

(Brewer, 1910, p. 332)

The PIAS emphasized behavior modification and prevention over medical treatment, a calculation that overlooked terminal, in favor of incipient cases of tuberculosis (Moralina, 2009, p. 181). The PIAS’ regime of medical surveillance and use of exclusionary tactics in the public schools, civil service, and dance halls nearly culminated in the creation of a tuberculosis barrio in Manila (Moralina, 2009, pp. 197-198, p. 209). The tone of PIAS’ anti-spitting campaign in Manila’s urban spaces resonated with the YMCA’s pedagogy of “clean and gentlemanly sport.” The construction of public playing spaces in the colonial capitals of Manila and Baguio under the supervision of physical education professionals enabled the transmission of Gulick's "clean sport" values modified for the Filipino colonial citizen-in-training. For example, one of Gulick's original maxims reads: "Officers and opponents are to be regarded as honest in intention. When opponents are evidently not gentlemen and officers manifestly dishonest or incompetent, it is perfectly simple to avoid relationships with them" (Gulick, 1896, p. 564). The modified rule for Filipinos begins with the same scenario but differs in its solution to refer the matter "to proper
authority where the case will be adjusted and such disciplinary action taken as may be necessary" (Philippine Bureau of Education, 1913, p. 97). The modified rule suggests a probationary period for the Filipino colonial citizen, who has not yet proven to be a gentleman capable of conducting sport without proper authority and supervision.

Brown actively participated in the rapid growth of outdoor recreation and design of playground spaces as a member of the Bureau of Education’s Playground Committee (Gems, 2006, p. 60). These included the creation of Manila's Luneta playing fields, volleyball and tennis courts from land reclaimed by filling in the unsanitary city moat that had surrounded the city's old Spanish Intramuros walls (Gems, 2006, p. 179). Why did Brown have volleyball in mind as the scourge of tuberculosis, as opposed to any other open-air activity? Tuberculosis’ co-factors of urban poverty and crowding made volleyball’s minimal equipment and space requirements an economically advantageous choice over other activities. Volleyball was also considered to be less strenuous and therefore accessible to young, old, female, and infirm participants.

Furthermore, volleyball’s net provided for segregations that practically as well as symbolically enacted sanitary order. At a moment of converging sporting cultures and racial identities, volleyball’s segregations suggested additional measures of social control. Ultimately, the campaign against tuberculosis failed to reduce urban mortality rates exacerbated by the rapidly increasing urban population (Moralina, 2009, p. 208). Compared to more spectacular ailments such as leprosy that captured the imagination of the colonial sanitary regimes, tuberculosis prevention and treatment received little funding given its prevalence (Anderson, 2006, p. 176). Senate president Manuel L. Quezon specifically criticized the government's disproportionate funding for leprosy compared to tuberculosis; ironically, President Quezon himself would

While Brown asserted that citywide volleyball tournaments provided the basis of voluntary friendships between Americans and Filipinos, his vision of such friendships remained hierarchical and while teams competed against one another, they remained segregated:

“American business men who have nothing to do with the Filipino people socially and who actually employed some of the boys against whom they played met the Filipino youth and without hesitation or embarrassment on the commonfield of sport” (Brown, 1914, p. 4). Sport offered opportunities for the enactment of “fiesta” politics that cultivated a closer collaboration between Americans and elite Filipinos through social interaction. “For Americans, it signaled a sharp break with ongoing military encounters as well as with domestic U.S. racial forms” and “was meant to convey social equality and promises of political equality” (Kramer, 2006, p. 186). Conveying social equality implied a performance of equality rather than an actual commitment or belief in its possibility. The segregation provided by volleyball’s net conveniently allowed for not only racially segregated teams, but also racially prescribed rules. At the time of its introduction in the Philippines, the official volleyball rules had no restriction on the number of hits allowed on each side. Brown introduced the three hit rule in the physical educational context of discipline, but such lessons were also tempered by the context of colonial leisure that revealed a more porous dynamic than the racially delimited rules suggested.

**Leisure in the summer capital of Baguio**

The development of the summer capital of Baguio and the subsequent scandal over the cost of road construction from Manila created a particularly acute need for a reparative “fiesta politics” to bolster the colonial government’s ambitions for the region. Following the lead of an
earlier Spanish plan to develop the region, the Philippine Commission of 1900 confirmed Baguio as an ideal site for the recuperation of American military and civilian personnel summer due to its cool mountainous climate, effectively reifying tropical neurasthenia; additionally, the Benguet region featured rich mineral and geological resources, and remained a strategic location for military pacification efforts (Alcantera, 2002, p. 210). The Baguio Sanitarium opened in 1902, and received the praise of Governor General Taft and Commissioner Worcester who credited the climate for curing their gastrointestinal ailments (Worcester, 1914, p. 458).

Worcester's enthusiasm for and rigorous defense of Baguio's development could also be attributed to his ethnographic obsessions with the non-Christian tribes of the Luzon highlands. Eventually, the encounter of the "G-stringed Igorotte" and American tourist became a familiar scene in the colonial hill station, just as it had been at the LPE. The protagonist in Filipino writer Carlos Bulosan's semi-autobiographical novel America is in the heart (1973), living off discarded scraps in the Baguio market described the farcical colonial encounter:

One day and American lady tourist asked me to undress before her camera, and gave me ten centavos for doing it. I had found a simple way to make a living. Whenever I say a white person in the market with a camera, I made myself conspicuously ugly, hoping to earn ten centavos. But what interested the tourists most were the naked Igorot women and their children. Sometimes they took pictures of the old men with G-strings. They were not interested in Christian Filipinos like me.13 (Bulosan, 1973, p. 67)

In contrast to the naked savages of the LPE, the scandal of Baguio came from the immense cost of road construction and maintenance. The costs of the "zigzag" Kennon road connecting the two capitals ran over 4 million pesos from 1902-1906; in a 1903 labor dispute,

13 Carlos Bulosan immigrated to the United States and became active in the labor movement. Like Manuel Quezon, Bulosan eventually died of tuberculosis.
200 workers walked off of the construction site over unpaid wages and poor working conditions (Bankoff, 2005). Destructive typhoons, accusations of minor graft, and Manuel Quezon's vocal criticisms before the U.S. Congress of extravagant governmental spending on the project undermined, yet ultimately did not prevent Baguio's development (McCoy, 2009, p. 254). In both the defense and criticism of Baguio, sport played a pivotal role.

In 1903, one year after the official end of the Philippine-American war, President Roosevelt’s order ensured a substantial military presence by setting aside 535 acres for U.S. army rest and recreation facility dubbed Camp John Hay and an officers’ school for the Philippine Constabulary completed in 1916 (McCoy, 2009, p. 19). In 1904, architect Daniel Burnham, fresh from his duties at the LPE, surveyed the site and developed the Baguio plan in the spirit of the "City Beautiful" movement (Gems, 2006, p. 51). Less well-known than Burnham's contributions, were the efforts of General James Franklin Bell, the architect of the successful counterinsurgency operations in Luzon province and landscape designer for Camp John Hay (Alcantera, 2002, p. 213). Bell's war campaign provided extensive groundwork in civil governance, infrastructure, telegraphic networks, and the establishment of schools (Ramsey, 2007, p. 3). During the 1901 campaign, Bell described the Ilocanos of northwestern Luzon as "the most skillful dissimulators on earth" capable of manipulating inexperienced American officers but not beyond the possibility of redemption by American tutelage (Ramsey, 2007, p. 5).

Brown's assessment of Filipinos' character as sneaky echoed that of the counterinsurgent Bell and provided the racial rationale for the three-hit rule. Brown credited the spread of volleyball throughout the archipelago to a unique cohort of his pupils in the Philippine Constabulary for whom he had introduced a program of YMCA calisthenics and games (Brown, 1913a, p. 480). “The Constabulary,” Brown noted, “is a very popular organization and what the
soldiers do everyone imitates” (Brown, 1912, p. 8). Compared to other sports, volleyball’s portability and minimal equipment requirements made it an ideal activity for native Scouts and Constabulary expeditions to introduce to civilian populations in remote areas; games in the provinces were often played using a rope tied to coconut trees and a rattan ball slightly larger than balls used to play the indigenous game sipa (Aquino cited in de Castro, 1954, p. 23).

Volley ball is played in every part of the Archipelago. The naked Igorottes of the north and the warlike Moros (Mohammedans) of the south seeming to enjoy it as much as do the civilized Christian people of the other sections of the country. (Brown, 1916, p. 54)
The Philippine Constabulary contributed to pacification efforts beginning in 1901, and eventually developed into the central intelligence office of the colonial state administering to tribal territories, supervising municipal police, and conducting covert surveillance on elite politicians (McCoy, 2009, pp. 126-127). Military Information officer Henry Allen, serving as the first chief of the Constabulary noted the efficiency of using Filipino agents and covert methods as opposed to the brutal methods of wartime inquisition such as the "water cure" that led to inconvenient Congressional investigations (McCoy, 2009, pp.104-105). While sport had served the U.S. military during the war in terms of fitness preparation and morale, colonial sporting pedagogies sought to win bodies, hearts and minds of subjects and potential recruits by attraction rather than coercion. Provincial volleyball games celebrating patron saints and involving gambling afforded a public space for police surveillance (Hart cited in de Castro, 1954, p. 24). The 1913 provincial champion volleyball team from Patnongon celebrated with a parade and police escort (Gems, 2006, p. 59).

William Cameron Forbes had the greatest impact on the development of Baguio’s culture of leisure and deployed his personal fortune in the service of “fiesta politics.” While serving as secretary of commerce and police in Manila, Forbes successfully encouraged the sale of private lots through public auction and personal persuasion to both American and Filipino elites; as Governor-General of the colony, Forbes built two mansions to serve as an official and private residence in 1908. An enthusiastic polo player and author of the whimsically titled monograph As to Polo (1919), Forbes initiated the financing and development of the Baguio Country Club (Alcantera, 2002, p. 213).

My object in this whole thing was to get the wealthy Filipinos interested because I knew if they could come up and be enthusiastic that the success and permanence of Baguio was
secured, as they could wield enough influence with the Legislature to see the thing wasn’t blocked once they had property interests there. I delayed getting them up until as late as this because I wanted to give them a really good time when they came an let them see it was a going place and not a prospect, as it was very difficult for people to visualize what a thing might later turn out to be. Having got good automobile roads, good bridle paths, parks, playgrounds, tennis courts, gold course, trap shooting equipment, a number of pleasant houses, and two going hotels, as well as very fair markets and stores, a number of cottages, and a good deal of society, I felt the time was ripe to get these people up, knowing that they would not feel as pioneers – which takes an initiative not always found in the tropics, and not always found in the well-to-do – but as participants in something the success of which was assured. (Forbes, 2 April 1911, p. 314)

In addition to the country club games of polo and golf, Forbes played baseball with prominent Protestant missionaries, government employees, professional players and provided equipment for Benguet and Bontoc Igorot boys to play America's national game.
Worcester cited Baguio's inclusive leisure practices and Forbes' civic philanthropy in order to defend the summer capital's government expenditures against anti-imperialist factions in the U.S. Congress.

Now, it is true that there is a club for government officers at Baguio, but in making this statement Mr. Jones and his ilk have neglected to say that there is also at Baguio a club for employees; a club for private citizens; a club for Americans; a club for Filipinos; a club for foreign consuls and other foreign residents of the islands; a club for businessmen; a club for clerks; and that all of these institutions are one and the same, namely, the Baguio Country Club, which is now strictly self-supporting and meets its obligations from the funds derived from dues of its members. These dues are absurdly low in view of the privileges, which it affords. Although Mr. Forbes does not like to have it known, I cannot refrain from stating that the club has not always been self-supporting, and that he has repeatedly made up deficits from his private funds. (Worcester, 1914, pp. 466-467)
Recalling the wretched condition of Carlos Bulosan's protagonist forced to scour the marketplace for scraps of food, leisure expenditures of any amount signified unattainable luxuries. "Let no one think that the summer capital of the Philippines has been built solely for the benefit of Americans" Worcester asserted before stating that "every possible victim of tuberculosis in the islands, which means every inhabitant of the lowlands, has a right to demand it should be made, and kept, readily accessible" (Worcester, 1914, p. 486). Worcester's casuistry conflating the health crisis of tuberculosis with elite leisure practices aided the U.S. Congress' continued funding of the summer capital.

**Bureau of Education**

The involvement of Filipino elites and commitment of resources to the development of a Teachers’ Camp with permanent cottages by 1913, aided in the recuperation of the Baguio plan from inept at best, and corrupt at worst. Although interprovincial scholastic competition began as early as 1904 on the main island of Luzon, the Bureau of Education did not begin formal training of physical instructors until 1909, just before Secretary Brown's arrival (Ylanan & Ylanan, 1965, p. 4). Following the government's migration to the summer capital in Baguio, Brown extended his physical training work beyond Manila to government employees, including the Bureau of Education for whom he helped to create the Athletic handbook for public schools beginning in 1911. “I have just finished the training of five teachers who will handle the work of instructing 1,500 Filipino teachers in the use of the Handbook, playground games and simple calisthenics” (Brown, 1912, p. 8). By 1914, the Bureau of Education formalized physical education for teachers studying at the Philippine Normal School in Manila and in 1918 sent five pensionados
to study in the United States, then two pensionadas ten years later (Ylanan & Ylanan, 1965, p. 30).^{14}

Despite baseball’s cultural power as the American pastime and the first sport introduced to the Philippines under American tutelage, the budget-conscious *Athletic handbook* for public schools recommended volleyball be played 11 times, indoor baseball 7 times, and basketball relays (rather than a full-court game) only 3 times out of an 18 day schedule (Philippine Bureau of Education, 1913, pp. 15-16). Volleyball needed far less equipment, could incorporate many more players in less space, and was less likely to lead to injuries. In the *Athletic handbook’s* price list of athletic equipment volleyballs are listed as costing 5 pesos, with a net costing 2 pesos; by contrast a complete set of indoor baseball equipment (no mitts required) cost a total of 21 pesos (Philippine Bureau of Education, 1913, p. 99). By 1914, Brown estimated that 90% of the 450,000 students regularly played volleyball on some 5,500 school courts (Brown 1914, pp. 257-258). Smaller barrio schools with limited to no athletic budgets learned to play volleyball with rattan balls and ropes. Volleyball’s affordability and accessibility helped to promote government claims of democratization more than any other sport.

In an article titled "Athletics helping the Filipino: Baseball, basketball, track and field doing their share in developing the art of self-government" the author claimed:

In fact, we are teaching the Filipinos more, because there has been no English

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^{14} Francisca Reyes Aquino was the first pensionada to study physical education in the United States. Aquino emphasized Philippine folk dancing in the creation of the Philippine Women’s University physical education program in order to provide an “academic imprimatur attractive to both middle-class Filipinos and college groups in the United States” (Gaerlan, 1999, p. 255). Emphasis on team sport for women in the Philippines declined during the Commonwealth period (1934-1946). By 1972, physical educators recognized the usefulness of team sport in promoting *bayaniham*, the spirit of “we” the team rather than “I, myself” (Beran & Ravello, 1972, p. 5). However, the public display of Filipinas exerting themselves in team sport peaked during the American colonial period.
conservatism in the Philippines to prevent the utilization of the very best methods that modern pedagogy has devised. As regards the development of a spirit of fair play and democracy, the Filipino children have the advantage of the English or American children, because in democratic athletics the Philippine schools lead the world. (Jones, 1914, p. 590)

Jones' supposition of a "democratic athletics" rested on the presumption of a democracy transmitted through the public school system that extended team sports to girls to a higher degree than in the United States. Girls were allowed to compete interscholastically in boys' rules basketball, indoor baseball, and volleyball (Gems, 2006, p. 55). While Filipinas had more competitive opportunities than their American counterparts, participation fluctuated and remained secondary to boys' team sport. Yet at the same time, many elite Filipino/as would have resisted both the democratizing and skin-darkening effects of outdoor sport despite the enthusiasm of American teachers who sought to liberate Filipinas from a medieval Spanish culture.
Naturally shy and modest, traits inherited through centuries of association with coy Spanish señoritas who know not what it is to get away from their mothers' apron strings, our school teachers had a difficult time to induce the young ladies to don bloomers and to appear in them before masculine eyes on the athletic field. ... Today Philippine athletic fields are as well populated with feminine athletes as they are with males. And the girls do not confine their amusements to such tame pastimes as basketball and tag. Oh, no. There are girls’ ball teams that can give many of the boy nines a good, hard run for victory on the score board. (Wooley, 1916, p. 78)
The celebration of girls' athletics, particularly before "masculine eyes" was in marked contrast to domestic American attitudes. The spectacle of Filipina girls exerting themselves in baseball was not only palatable, but also celebrated as a triumph of America's pastime and proof of the colonial state's efficiency in producing citizen-bodies of both genders in addition to winning hearts and minds. Furthermore, the vigorous display of athletic bodies suggested the effectiveness of American physical education in the eradication of Filipino/a weakness.

These girls' contests not only develop healthful, vigorous, self-reliant mothers for the future, but they also develop within these mothers of the future a sense of fair play that is lacking among all non-athletic peoples. This sense of fair play will not only make better citizens out of these girls, should they be given the right to take part in the government, but also it will enable them to hand down this sense of fair play to their children more successfully than the less athletic mothers of Europe and American can do it. (Jones, 1914, pp. 588-589)

American male teachers taught Filipina girls how to play boys' rules basketball, and by 1911 there were five girls teams competing in the Manila Carnival meet. Competition continued to expand until 1914, when attitudes suddenly shifted and girls' basketball was eliminated from inter-provincial competition. Basketball's gradual ascendance to its current status as the most popular team sport in the Philippines partly resulted from its distancing from female participation and reformulation as a masculine endeavor (Antolihao, 2009).

Basketball in the Philippines has replaced baseball in popularity and has assumed the position of national sport of the Filipino people. No longer is it regarded as a 'sissy' game fit only for girls, as was the impression in 1910 when it was first introduced in the public schools. In fact, it is considered a very manly game, too rough for the girls who, because
of public opinion, had to give up competitive basketball and play the game only for recreation. (Ylanan & Ylanan, 1965, p. 71)

In 1915, boys' inter-provincial competition added volleyball to baseball and track and field championships, while girls played in their final baseball championship after which they would wait 23 years before competing interscholastically in track and field (Ylanan & Ylanan, 1965, pp. 237-238). While national competitions for men's volleyball began in 1912, women's national competitions did not begin until 1925 (Ylanan & Ylanan, 1965, p. 110). So while volleyball was so widespread that athletic dealers sold more balls in Manila than New York City, with up to 4,000 kits sold throughout the islands by 1913, serious competition was limited to male participation (Association Men, 1913, p. 222). Despite YMCA Secretary Brown’s inclusive...
"play for all" philosophy, the actual games played and levels of competition were subject to shifting notions of gender suitability. Just as Worcester’s wild men of Luzon were portrayed as capable of improvement through sport, the Bureau of Education’s emphasis on physical education’s uplift resulted in a more extensive program than in the U.S. public school system, particularly for Filipinas.

**Far Eastern Athletic Association**

In its potentialities, the Far Eastern Olympic Association represents the most significant phase of the whole athletic program in the Far East. With one-fourth of all the people in the Pacific-East awakening to the importance of physical education, with no standards or ideals as yet established, and in view of the fact that the International Olympic Committee was not definitely working this field, our duty seemed clear. … It has as its prime objective the work of developing Oriental athletes to the point where they can enter the world’s games with some hope of success. (Brown, 1913a, p. 480-481)

In 1910, professional boxers from the McKinley YMCA associated with the U.S. military attempted to join the amateur basketball league. The encroachment of professional athletes in amateur competitions led directly to Brown’s formation of the Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation (PAAF) the following year (Abe, 2003, p. 63, n. 5). The PAAF promoted amateur athletics, kept records of amateur standing, developed uniform rules, regulated athletic championships, and promoted athletic competition (Bocobo-Olivar cited in Abe, 2003, p. 63, n. 4).

Elwood S. Brown’s efforts on behalf of Philippine amateur athletics culminated in the formation of the biennial Far Eastern Championship Games (FECG), hosted alternately by the Philippines, China, and Japan from 1913 to 1934. Despite inclusion of non-Olympic team sports
such as basketball and volleyball, Brown conceived of these regional games as not only an opportunity to showcase American physical education in the Philippines, but as an Olympic training ground for the “whole Asiatic-Pacific territory except Russia” (Brown, 1913a, p. 480). For Brown and Governor-General Forbes, the incorporation of the games as part of the Manila Carnival served as a wholesome alternative to entrenched Spanish traditions of cockfighting and gambling as well as an international showcase for American colonial benevolence. The first Far Eastern Championship Games (FECG) held during the annual Manila Carnival in 1913, welcomed visiting teams from China and Japan. Similar to the Olympic games that the FECG aspired to, the first official program included competitions for men only. The host nation Philippines under the leadership of Brown determined that the first official program would have swimming, tennis, baseball, basketball, football (soccer), volleyball, and track and field (Ylalan & Ylalan, 1965, p. 161). Brown scheduled PAAF interscholastic and amateur league alongside the international competitions, replicating Sullivan's transformation of the Olympics from elite international competition to a more broadly conceived sporting festival.

In contrast to the Bureau of Education’s mission to educate boys and girls, Brown conceived of the FECG as an “Oriental” masculinity tutelage project that included both physical

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15 American objections to cockfighting in the Philippines had less to do with animal cruelty than ethical concerns over gambling. Providing sporting alternatives to cockfighting was a major impetus for ambitious athletic programming. Episcopalian priest Charles H. Brent observed, “The stagnation of tropical life, the absence of other amusements than the baile and a mild game of ball played by the men, make the prevailing excitement a powerful temptation to the least viciously inclined, As I have looked at the wistful, uninspired faces of the poor country folk in my journeyings to and fro, I have felt that until they were provided with some inner resources by education, and unless healthy recreation was introduced among them, the cock-pit was not to be wondered at. At best, it will die hard” (1905, p. 8). Forbes complained about the controversy over cockfighting in association with the 1908 Manila Carnival; serving as Carnival president, Forbes asserted that honoring the contract given to a cockpit concessionaire took precedence over the appearance of condoning an activity that operated “all over the Islands every Sunday, to which the populace, men, women, and children, repaired by the thousands and indulged in this sport after they had been to church” (Forbes, 1911, p. 449).
training and the cultural transmission of YMCA and Olympic manly amateur ideals. “The Japanese,” Brown observed, “learned that teamplay was both stimulating and essential, disproving their age-old theory that team-work fosters only weak dependence on the other fellow” (Brown, 1921, p. 690). “The new political regime in China at a stroke cut off, so to speak, the long finger nails, but could not by an order restore the normal physical ability of the arms” (Brown, 1921, p. 692). “The so-called ‘impassive’ Oriental, who will look with indifference upon accident and even death, who is taught, particularly in Japan, to show no facial evidence of his real feelings goes into transports of joy at athletic contests and becomes the most rabid rooter in the world. Athletics gives him a chance to be a normal human being and to express his emotions without let or hindrance” (Brown, 1921, p. 690). While an Olympic-inspired opening parade of nations “after the manner of the Stockholm Games” came under Forbes’ review, there were also welcome songs and mass callisthenic drills performed by nearly 1,000 schoolchildren (Brown, 1913b, p. 165) held in celebration of the FECG.
The FECG provided an opportunity for the U.S. to engage Japan in cultural diplomacy in an atmosphere of escalating imperial ambitions. Whereas President Roosevelt’s administration had proactively countered Japan’s naval superiority with the presence of the Navy's Great White Fleet in the eastern Pacific, President Taft withdrew naval forces to Pearl Harbor in 1909 and terminated construction of naval fortifications on Corregidor and Subic Bay (McCoy, 2009, p. 184). The FECG provided an alternate means for conveying military power through masculine sporting bodies.
For example, in the image above the victorious Japanese runner wears the symbol of the rising sun flag flown by the Imperial Japanese navy. The photograph's description in the Education Bureau's archives states admiringly, "He won easily and was not exhausted at the finish" creating an intended effect of military masculinity projected through an international athletic spectacle. Japan's victory over China in the First Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895) initiated its domination of the Korean peninsula, and defeat over Russia ten years later further consolidated Japan’s dominance of the Asia-Pacific region. Praising Japanese athletic success might have been a deliberate approach to promoting the value of the American colonial presence in the Philippines.
Although Japan had only sent two athletes to the Olympic games in Stockholm in 1912, Japan already had official membership in the IOC, rendering IOC representative Kano Jigoro reluctant to embrace the fledgling, inferior competition of the FECG, much less one run primarily by American evangelical missionaries and colonial government officials. Aware of the American advantages in choosing events and officiating the FECG, for example determining distances using the linear rather than the metric system, Kano did not send athletes to the Manila inaugural FECG (Abe, 2003, p. 44). Instead, the Osaka Mainichi News Company financed a small contingent of Japanese male athletes to Manila, the Waseda University baseball team and two distance runners, an early example of Japanese corporate sponsorship of sport.\(^{16}\)

Japan did not compete in any other events but claimed the top two positions in the shortened “marathon” of five miles, first place in the mile, and first place in the round robin baseball competition. So while Japanese superlative efforts gained 16 top medal prizes, the overall medal count placed the Philippines on top with 120, and China second with 50. As a nation accustomed to military victory, Japan was reluctant to compete in less familiar sporting events such as volleyball and risk losing against “lesser” nations. Furthermore, the FECG’s inclusion of interscholastic and recreational competition did not correspond to Kano’s amateur ideal, a fusion of the Olympic amateur ideal and military biopower:

If we are going to send athletes to foreign countries at all then it is not enough that they

\(^{16}\) Kano Jigoro not only served as the first Asian member of the IOC (1909-1938), but was also the founding member of the Japanese Amateur Athletic Association in 1911 and recognized as the “Father of Judo” in 1882 (Abel, 2011, p. 50; Tsutsui, 2011, p. 4). Kano’s opposition to volleyball ironically contrasts with Japan’s eventual ascendance and adoption of judo-inspired defensive rolling techniques. Controversy over selection of sorting events continues in the contemporary regional Southeast Asian Games. 2013 host Myanmar has been criticized for trying to eliminate beach volleyball (due to its unsuitability for Muslim dress codes) and attempting to include unfamiliar Burmese martial arts such as “chinlone” (Fuller, 2013, p. A4).
be strong in sports competitions. Because it would be a problem to send people who did not have a suitable upbringing, we specified that they should live up to the status of student or gentleman, should have had schooling beyond middle school, or otherwise should be a military man or a member of a youth group with the recommendation of their mayor, town manager or village head. (Kano 1938 cited in Abel, 2011, p. 49)

Brown’s collaboration with Shanghai YMCA International Secretary J. Howard Crocker resulted in China’s sending 40 male athletes to participate in the inaugural games. Historian Xu Guoqi linked late imperial China’s enthusiasm for western sport to the humiliation of losing Korea in the Sino-Japanese war in 1895. Military defeat inspired the British-educated scholar Yan Fu to apply the phrase “sick man” to China (2008, p. 18). In addition to the embrace of western sport, reformers in China abolished the traditions of female foot-binding and the onerous civil service examination system in an effort to heal sick man syndrome in 1905 (Xu, 2008, p. 20). Since China would not gain membership into the IOC until 1922, diplomat Wu Ting Fang recognized the significance of the FECC as a stepping stone to eventual membership and thus enthusiastically assumed the presidency of the FEAA in preparation for the 1915 games held in Shanghai (Brown, 1913, p. 165). Brown praised China's new membership in the IOC in a letter to de Coubertin, pointing to the advantage of having an opportunity to foster cooperation between China and Japan (Brown cited in Abe, 2003, p. 65, n27).

For Brown and Governor-General Forbes, the inaugural games represented a triumph of American sporting diplomacy and an opportunity to pat themselves on the back for their successful efforts teaching Asian subjects American sporting values and the English language.

The two baseball games between Filipinos and Japanese attracted a total of 18,000 spectators, and the strange spectacle was presented of two
Oriental teams playing skillfully a purely American game and using freely the English language. In fact, English was the medium of communication in all the various activities of the week. At a banquet given by the Filipinos to their visitors, every speech was made in English and the whole group of Oriental athletes stood up and gave three rousing cheers for the United States. (Brown, 1913, p. 481)

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) objected to Brown's appropriation of the term "Olympic" resulting in renaming to the acceptable Far Eastern Athletic Association (FEAA). Other than the initial encroachment upon the "Olympic" brand name, the Baron de Coubertin supported the formation of the FEAA, viewing Brown's efforts as a much needed corrective to the farce of the 1904 St. Louis Olympics' presentation of Asian athletes in the "Anthropological Days" (de Coubertin & Müller, 2000, p. 695).

We have always believed that athletics would soon reach all parts of the Far East. We are convinced that sports will play a capital, decisive role there. We would be willing to bet that in twenty years, athletic associations will abound in that region. The "yellow men" seem to us to be admirably prepared to benefit from the athletic crusade that is taking shape. They are ready individually and collectively. They are ready individually because endurance, tenacity, patience, racial flexibility, the habit of self-mastery, of keeping silent, and of hiding pain and effort have shaped their bodies most effectively. They are ready collectively, because their young imperialism, which has not yet had its fill of domination, will impel them to taste the fresh joys of athletic victories, as well as the honor this brings to their national flags. For a while still, clearly, athletic Asia will grow and become strong where it is. Yet it is quite probably that contacts with the West will be made and, at Berlin in 1916, the yellow teams will be able to show what they can do." (de
Coubertin 1913, cited in de Coubertin & Müller, 2000, pp. 696-697)

The YMCA's gentlemanly approach espoused by Brown reformed American athletics in de Coubertin's view and gained prestige from the FEAA's internationalism as opposed to the provincialism of the St. Louis games. de Coubertin's reference to "young imperialism" suggests that he had Japan in mind, rather than the other two members of the FEAA, the Philippines under American colonial tutelage, or China besieged by both European and Japanese imperial powers. Brown and de Coubertin both conceived of the FEAA as a means of sporting tutelage for a broadly defined racial category of "Asiatics," not yet equal to the amateur ideal of white Europeans.

Volleyball proved to be an exception to the assumption that the FEAA competitions were racially destined for inferiority, as it continued to evolve from its Philippine roots through the rivalry among the three Asian national competitors. Over the course of ten FECG competitions, Philippines and China each won five volleyball championships. As I argued previously in this chapter, volleyball’s distinctive strokes – the bump, set, and spike – developed from Brown’s imposition of the three-hit rule. At the 1919 games held in Manila, the Philippines introduced the new block defensive play, in which players defend against the spiking attack above the net by attempting to deflect the ball back into the attacker's court (de Castro, 1954, p. 39). The action of the bomberino and blocker jumping in the air and competing to direct the ball is similar to images of the jump ball in basketball; while the successful block mirrors the form and dramatic effect of a blocked shot in basketball. The sharp rebuttal of a well-executed block, packs a greater emotional intensity than even a well-executed spike. Such is the effect of the dramatic reversal posed by the countermove, when the defense quickly shuts down the offense of the opponent and simultaneously becomes the offensive weapon. A good block, like any sudden
reversal of fortune can instantly change the course of a game. The development of the block in volleyball added directly to the advantage of height – a factor that Philippine-style volleyball had tried to minimize by forgoing Morgan’s rule of rotation.

Proportionately the Filipinos are shorter than most Americans, with the average height of the former being five feet six inches, while the latter is five feet seven and one-half inches. It is believed that equal chances will be given to play the game if the shorter individuals are placed in such places as the third line and the taller men on the first and second lines. It was argued that with the rotation system the shorter person has no place in the game. It only becomes a game for taller persons. This becomes apparent when the team is rotated and the shorter person moves to the first line. The fixed position allows greater specialization and therefore greater improvement in the standard of the game. It can be imagined what would happen if a rotation system is adopted in a baseball game, when everybody has to pitch, to catch, to play fielder, etc. Again it depends on the philosophy adopted for the game; is the game being played purely for recreation, where greater chances are provided for everyone to experience different positions or is it played for competitive and recreation purposes where specialization is necessary. (de Castro, 1954, pp. 26-27)

Ultimately the rotation rule became firmly established in international volleyball rules, however de Castro’s preference for player specialization also characterized the game’s development, in spite of the inconvenience posed by rotation. Positions in volleyball are as highly specialized as basketball or baseball with left outside hitters, opposite side hitters, setters, middle blockers and defensive specialists called "liberos" who only play in the back row, a bit ironic given that "libero" comes from the Italian "free" in the back row. After the server contacts
the ball, players shift into their court positions effectively stepping around the spirit Morgan's egalitarian rule of rotation.

At least in the context of the FECG, the Philippines did not experience a height disadvantage – in fact, Ylanan’s study of athletes competing in the 1927 FECG concluded that the “Filipino man of today is in fact taller than the southern Chinese, the Siamese, or the Japanese; he is surpassed only by the Chinese of the north and the Hindu” (Ylanan cited in Nanagas, 1930, p. 412). At the 1927 Shanghai competition, the Chinese introduced the “fast set-up and kill” and caught the Filipinos off guard; in Asian-style volleyball, speed served to compensate for height disadvantage (de Castro, 1954, p. 40). Philippine ascendence in volleyball had peaked while other Asian nations took up inventing volleyball; gradually volleyball in the Philippines became more of a girls' sport, while basketball began its rapid rise as the most popular team sport in the Philippines surpassing baseball. Antolihao argued that basketball's popularity resulted from the steady departure of American government workers and the resulting lack of qualified baseball coaches; scarcity of urban space and the appeal of basketball to Filipino college students who preferred to exercise indoors also contributed to basketball's rapid promotion (2009). As basketball shed its previous "sissy" image, girls played more volleyball and interprovincial competition in basketball was discontinued in 1914 (Ylanan & Ylanan, 1965, p. 71).

Volleyball continued to accompany Secretary Brown after his departure from Manila in 1918. In 1919, Brown helped to organize the Inter-allied Games in Paris as a final grand gesture of the YMCA's service to the American Expeditionary Forces and wartime allies (AEF). The defeated powers of World War I were not invited to participate, and General Pershing lent his name to the stadium built in Paris with U.S. funds. Official AEF statistics of team sport
participation in 1918 indicated volleyball's popularity as a close fourth, with over 1.3 million participants to basketball's 1.5 million participants, with baseball and indoor baseball in the lead (Spalding's athletic library, 1919, p. 193). However, the official program of the Interallied Games did not include volleyball among team sport competitions for soccer, basketball, and baseball despite its popularity and inclusion in military athletic handbooks. Volleyball's omission from the Inter-Allied games derived partly perhaps from its perception, outside of the FECG nations, as a merely recreational game, playable by the old and girls, and not requiring much physical skill or experience. This perception did not prevent the transmission and circulation of volleyball throughout the national theaters of World War I by military personnel. Thus while volleyball steadily became more popular as a girls' team sport, it was simultaneously proliferating in military cultures throughout Europe, North Africa, and the Mediterranean.
Chapter Five: Asian subjects inventing volleyball

"Witches of the Orient"

When the Japs went into Olympic volleyball they ran a blitz on everybody using strange but maddeningly legal techniques like the “Jap roll,” the “dink spike,” and the “lightning belly pass” that reduced their taller opponents to screaming jelly. This is the essence of what some people call ‘the Aspen technique’ in politics: neither opting out of the system, nor working within it … but calling its bluff, by using its strength to turn it back on itself … and always assuming that the people in power are not smart. (Thompson, 1970, pp. 33-34)

Fifty years after Brown observed the indirect methods of the Filipino volleyball playing style, Hunter S. Thompson invoked a similar Orientalist discourse of deceptiveness in the Japanese style of play, one important difference being that Thompson was referring to athletic women, without drawing attention to the fact that the athletes were women. In Thompson's view, the Japanese women were representative of "Japanese" national sporting identity regardless of gender. The omission of female gender in sports played by both genders happens rarely in mainstream reportage, and in this particular case was testament to the celebrity and notoriety of the 1964 Japanese team that one the first Olympic gold medal in volleyball.

The celebration of the Japanese women’s volleyball team symbolized Tokyo’s successful hosting of the 1964 Olympics and postwar international comeback. In 2000, the Japanese newspaper Asahi Shimbun recognized the team’s accomplishment as fifth among the top ten memorable sporting stories – an achievement that sport scholar Christian Tagsold attributed to vanquishing the Soviet Union in the final match and restoring Tokyo’s Olympic aspirations which had been deferred in 1940 (2011). The notoriety of the team dubbed "The Witches of the
Orient” derived from an unlikely consensus of contemporaneous Soviet and western sporting journalist accounts that marveled at the competitive intensity of the team. A Soviet newspaper initially called the team "the Typhoon of the Orient" but then shifted the metaphor to witches after the team completed a tour of eastern Europe undefeated; unlike the Japanese team, typhoons eventually lost strength (Daimatsu cited by Igarashi, 2000, p. 243, n. 104).

Japan reveled in the success of the team formed almost entirely from the female office workers of the Osaka-based Nichibo textile corporation. Had Kano Jigoro, the "Father of Judo" (Tsutsui, 2011, p. 4) lived to see the Japanese Olympic victory, he would have taken particular pride in the team's judo-inspired innovation called the kaiten reshibu (rolling dive).

Like the Filipino bomba, the rolling dive was another instance of a volleyball technique inspired by a pre-existing indigenous tradition. However unlike the bomba/spike, the rolling dive is mostly an obsolete technique but remembered historically as a symbolic reenactment of Japan's postwar (Tagsold, 2011). Japan's gold medal victory over the Soviet Union helped to
create an "Olympic generation" by commanding a 92% television rating (Tagsold, 2011, pp. 444-445).

Instead of graceful rolling, *Life Magazine* journalist Lee Griggs perceived the rolling dive as part of Coach Daimatsu Hirobumi’s diabolical training regimen. In an article leading up to the 1964 Olympic games titled "Frantic lunge into sport," Griggs described the team's training as an "exercise in mass masochism," the athletes as "battered, bruised, and browbeaten," and worst of all, disqualified from dating. "'The bruises are not pretty,' adds Kinuko Tanida, 25 'and our skins will never be as smooth or our forearms and legs as gracefully shaped as those of our sisters. There are no dances or dates for us" (1964). In a *Sports Illustrated* feature article titled "Driven beyond dignity," a practice session opened for the first time to a "non-Oriental newsman" is "chilled by the fanatical striving" and cannot believe that "it's only volleyball, played by girls" (Whitehead, 1964).

The balls are aimed deliberately short so that the girls must hurl themselves headlong in a desperate, often futile attempt to retrieve and keep them in the air. They land jarringly on their chests and shoulders, then roll out and recover with a sprawling, judolike somersault. ... An hour of this and the girls are sweat-sodden, soiled and gasping with exertion. After two hours Diamatsu [sic], expressionless, his arm still swinging like a piston, closes the range. .... His grim, wild-eyed intensity is frightening. His face is still a mask, but it is strained and beaded with sweat. Now many of the girls are openly sobbing, their faces contorted with the agony of effort and the physical punishment.

(Whitehead, 1964)

Despite their reported average height of 5'7, Whitehead referred to the Japanese players as "big, strong, rangy" Amazons. While the American journalist accounts grudgingly recognize
the Japanese team's skill, the authors suggests that sporting success comes with great sacrifice and suffering suitable perhaps for men playing team sport but unsightly and defeminizing of women. In 1928, Florida State College Directory of Physical Education Katherine W. Montgomery published the first instructional manual for volleyball with the qualifying title of *Volley ball for women*. Montgomery provided techniques for a leisurely style of play that were already outdated compared to developments elsewhere that remained standard practice for American women's volleyball for decades. By 1950, doctoral student Hui-Ching Lu noted American women's lag behind other volleyball nations despite physiological advantages and superior nutrition.

The writer herself is a professional student of physical education both in China and America. Her training in physical education is one hundred percent American. She is a product of Wellesley College and Teachers College in the United States. She would not have gone through the American training had she not believed in the American training of physical education for women. But her opinion on volley ball is different from that of the American physical educators, because her experience in the game has convinced her that the American women leaders’ idea is over-cautious. It was her desire to obtain arguments from the American women leaders to strengthen her discussion in this study. Unfortunately, she had received but one response from the American women leaders of volley ball. According to her interviews with some of them, she found some to be progressive, but the majority of them were not. … She fully sympathizes with both, for the fault lies in the early volley ball education in America; women and girls have never been properly trained in the sport. … the writer has complete confidence in the future development of volley ball among women and girls in America. As time goes on, they
will develop a broader view of the game and will abandon their grandmother’s outlook. When this time comes, American girls and women will play the leading role in the world of volley ball. They have everything in their favor – their physical stature, their endurance, their experience and knowledge of other sports. (Lu, 1950, pp. 28-29)

Lu’s prediction about American women occurred at an interesting historical juncture when older fears about non-normative sexuality and women’s sport confronted U.S. Cold war cultural politics that had to reconfigure the role of women's sport in order to win Olympic national medal counts and project American soft power through sport (Domer, 1976). It took longer than Lu might have thought for American women to compete at the highest levels of international volleyball competition, as they lagged behind the more sophisticated Asian game and had yet to reconcile volleyball as both a competitive game and non-threatening to American standards of compulsory femininity. Women's volleyball played in the Japanese-style had clearly caught the American journalists by surprise.

Whereas Gulick had conceived of a spirit of team sacrifice based upon an Anglo-Saxon muscular Christianity ideal of "self-sacrifice," Japanese head coach Daimatsu's sporting pedagogy drew upon the bitterness and suffering of his war time experiences, postwar scarcity, and the Phoenix-like rise of Japanese corporate culture culminating in the Tokyo Olympics. Daimatsu authored two memoirs published in 1963 and 1964, that were propitiously timed with his team's Olympic success and became bestsellers in Japan. According to his accounts, Daimatsu had been:

Drafted by the army in late 1941, Daimatsu survived battles in China and Southeast Asia, and he participated in the ill-conceived Imphal Operation in Burma. For five months during the rainy season, he retreated with his troops, gnawing on raw bamboo shoots.
During the retreat, his hemorrhoids became so aggravated that he could not walk. Although at one point he was ready to give up and be carried on a stretcher, he realized that once he stopped walking, he would only grow weaker and die. ... His life philosophy emerged out of his own survival: he could accomplish anything insofar as he willed it. He applied this philosophy to his volleyball coaching, repeatedly telling his "war experiences to his players and demanding from them days of hard training, as hard as severing their relations with parents and siblings." Daimatsu also insisted to the players: "Games are like fighting with real swords. Sports today are either kill or be killed. The metaphor of killing may not be proper, but second place means nothing. Unless you are number one ..., [your efforts] are meaningless." (Igarashi, 2000, p. 156)

In addition to physical hardship, Daimatsu's wartime memoirs describe his deep humiliation as a prisoner of in the Ahlone British POW camp in Rangoon, Burma. It is a searing account of feces, defeat, and denigration by female officers who Daimatsu described as dehumanizing him by throwing their underwear at him and ordering him to wash the garments (Igarashi, 2000, p. 157). Daimatsu’s association of humiliation with women's bodies, Igarashi suggests also contributed to his harsh coaching style that sublimated female corporeality and consciously disregarded their limitations as women in order to impose the same level of training that men endured (Igarashi, 2000, p. 157). Daimatsu did not coach men, so no direct comparison of his gendered coaching styles can be made. As a manager in the Osaka mill that employed most of his female players, Daimatsu's coaching regime benefitted from a corporate culture that promoted docile female laborers and in turn obedient athletes. In *Training the body for China*, researcher Susan Brownell similarly concludes that many elite Chinese physical educators
preferred coaching women due to their perception that women displayed greater obedience, docility, and willingness to sacrifice (1995, pp. 228-229).

[When I think about volleyball], I envision girls suffering from malnutrition hard at playing volleyball -- the only sport they could afford -- in a corner of a dark filthy factory. Volleyball was sport for the poor. It was a sport of factories, a sport for lunchtime and factory rooftops. (Takeo interview with Daimatsu cited in Igarashi 2000, p. 159)

Humble volleyball was "sport for the poor" accessible to ordinary Japanese amidst the economic and material scarcity and ubiquitous throughout the landscape of the postwar era (Igarashi, 2000, p. 160). Daimatsu emphasized Japan's "underdog" role as disadvantaged athletes: "We have compensate for our disadvantage in height and reach with fast reflexes and leaps" (Daimatsu cited in Griggs 1964, p. 42). In developing a quick style of play with relentless defense in a sport once considered merely recreational, the Japanese team caught the imagination of American journalists such as Hunter S. Thompson. The Japanese team also developed the overhead “floating serve,” an innovation that took advantage of superior ball technology that has the spinless unpredictable trajectory of baseball’s knuckle ball pitch – while the “floater” remains an important part of today’s game, it lacks the iconic status of the kaiten reshibu in Japanese historical memory. The floating serve as a deceptive technique would have fit neatly into Thompson’s description of the Japanese playbook.

Because of widespread participation by Japanese regardless of gender, volleyball became a powerful vehicle for national identity in which women players could represent the nation and replace military heroes with sporting heroes, and demonstrate the emergence of Japanese corporate power. According to Daimatsu, the team's quest for Olympic glory was not only for
Japan but also for second- and third-generation Japanese living overseas, directly referencing those Japanese who had also suffered as "prisoners of war" in relocation centers such as Manzanar (Daimatsu cited by Igarashi 2000, p. 160).

Daimatsu sought redemption not only for himself and the nation, but for all Japanese even those who identified as American citizens; similar to Gulick, he conceived of the team in racial terms. But unlike Gulick, Daimatsu considered elite women athletes as capable of representing all Japanese regardless of gender or national citizenship. These would have included Japanese internees photographed by renowned landscape photographer Ansel Adams who documented everyday life at the infamous relocation camp of Manzanar located in the Sierra foothills. His aim was to demonstrate the ordinary, non-threatening, all-American and feminine qualities of the Japanese women. This photo of women playing volleyball did not make it into Adam's publication *Born free and equal* (1944) in which men playing baseball better served his editorial instincts; yet another example of the secondary status of both women and volleyball as
athletic subjects. The high positioning of the back-row player's hands in the photograph, upward trajectory of the ball, starched skirts, and casual stance of the players denote a closer affinity to the non-strenuous American recreational volleyball rather than the fast-paced style of play developed in the Far East advocated by physical educator Lu. The photograph below of the smiling young Japanese girl holding a volleyball emphasizes the child's small hands, in stark contrast to the Amazonian “Oriental Witches” of 1964.

While Adams captured the Japanese-American girl's smile denote her nonthreatening status, it also obscures the misery of incarceration around which Daimatsu developed his coaching philosophy. As a "sport for the poor," Adams's volleyball portraiture emphasized the
stark material surroundings of disenfranchised Japanese-Americans, but simultaneously conveyed a resilience through recreation in properly gendered terms. If these recreational images were representative of the American conception of volleyball, it was not surprising that the witches of the Orient appeared so monstrous and amusing to American sporting journalists.

The Iron Ladies and the “hard and soft” of Trans Volleyball

[Barack Obama's] nanny was an openly gay man who, in keeping with Indonesia’s relaxed attitudes toward homosexuality, carried on an affair with a local butcher, longtime residents said. The nanny later joined a group of transvestites called Fantastic Dolls, who, like the many transvestites who remain fixtures of Jakarta’s streetscape, entertained people by dancing and playing volleyball. (Onishi, 2010)

In 1996, a volleyball team from Lampang Province consisting of several transvestites won the national amateur championship of Thailand and inspired the making of the film Satree Lek (Iron Ladies) in 2000 that became the second-highest grossing Thai film ever with a widespread international release (Holden, 2001). While outsider accounts of transvestitism in southeast Asia often emphasize the culture's acceptance of sexual identity expression, the real-life Iron Ladies were denied the opportunity to go on to represent the Thai national team. "When we travel abroad, foreigners might think Thailand doesn't have enough real men for its team. It would harm our country's reputation," explained Chanlit Vongprasert, secretary general of Thailand's volleyball association (Smith, 1997, p. 39). The longtime presence of katoeys (male to female transsexuals) in Thai cabaret theater and the sex tourism, did not translate into acceptance into national sporting arenas.

The events of the film overlook this reality concluding with footage of the real-life team's 1996 triumph, and although the resistance of amateur sporting authorities is depicted the film, the
narrative arc opts for the sort of unambiguous happy ending expected of the underdog sport film genre. The homophobic officialdom is reduced to one buffoonish figure who is easily exposed for his prejudice while the imposing bully, appropriately named "Mann," goes down in defeat and disbelief to the unstoppable juggernaut of the Iron Ladies once they learn to work together as a team through the acceptance of minority sexual identities.

The volleyball action sequences are the weakest part of the film, with the exception of the final credits where the real Iron Ladies are shown playing. Like the film poster above, most of the film's narrative is about the bringing together of the team of sexual misfits with its lone straight captain Chai who learns to tolerate the effeminate ways of his teammates. Initially afraid of being the "only straight one" on the team, the most effeminate member of the team Jung (fourth from the left) assures Chai not to worry as their friend Nong is a soldier. The film immediately cuts to the extremely effeminate soldier Nong playing with his army buddies, the
most accomplished player in the match who then must endure being physically manhandled by his peers in the post-victory celebration.

Figure 21. Nong about to serve in Satree Lek (Iron Ladies). (Thongkongtoon, 2000)

The film's message of tolerance is aimed directly at straight audiences, with the straight character Chai standing in as interlocutor. Described as "a cross between The Full Monty and The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert," the film played well with international audiences across Asia, America, Australia, and Europe attracting large gay audiences to public screenings (Rose, 2001). In contrast to the flamboyant Iron Ladies, the team’s Coach Bee is a lesbian of the tom (Thai term for butch lesbian) variety and her performance has a flat authenticity that Roger Ebert described as "so utterly without spin, style or affect that it could be lifted intact from a documentary ... It is either one of the most convincing performances I have ever seen or no performance at all" (2001).
Coach Bee's absence on the film's poster and non-performativity contrasts with the expected "over the top" drag queen diva personas that the film promises to deliver. Despite her low-key presence, Coach Bee is frequently the target of the ugliest homophobic moments spiked with misogynistic menace. Mann refers to her as a "stupid bitch" who "hasn't got any tits to play with," and dismisses her primary school championships as irrelevant to the task of coaching real men. Even greater than the transgression of the Iron Ladies katoeys into elite amateur team sport, is the presence of any sort of female coach of men's team sport. Ironically, despite the transgressive quality of Coach Bee, her character consistently intones traditional team sport values and submission of the self in terms familiar to the amateur ideals of YMCA sporting evangelists. Her cool response to a disdainful coach’s comment “Why don’t you transfer to the women’s competition, then you might stand a chance of winning?” firmly positions the Iron Ladies as men: “I thought sport taught us about fair play. Not just about winning and losing. It
doesn’t matter what my team may be. I’ll tell you one thing: they are true sportmen”
(Thongkongtoon, 2000).

In terms of volleyball, aficionados of the real life Iron Ladies point to their innovative style of play as an ability to be both "strong or hard" and "soft" that matches the natural rhythms of the games quick reversals of offense and defense, attack and reception. As one of their corporate sponsors described it:

In the nature of volleyball, you need to attack hard which is good for scoring and receive softly. Males are just aggressive, but if you are a katoey you will have the qualities of being hard and soft and this is their advantage. (A different ball game Thailand, 1996)

The "hard and soft" nature of volleyball can also be applied to its close relative basketball, the two YMCA team sports take slightly divergent trajectories along gendered lines. Despite volleyball's gender signification as more "female" than basketball, volleyball also stretches across the spectrum to inhabit the extremely masculinized spaces of the military. The "extremely masculinized space" is both a departure from effeminacy and an entry into homosociality and queer space thus resonating with volleyball's contradictory "hard and soft" nature. Consider this correspondence with author and former Green Beret Don Bendell when asked about the place of volleyball in the Special Forces in his tour of Viet Nam:

On my Special Forces A-Team at Dak Pek in 1968 and 1969, we played “jungle rules” volleyball against our counterparts the Vietnamese Special Forces (Luc Luong Dac Biet) LLDB members every once in a while. It helped enhance cooperation, team work, spirit de crops, and gave you a chance to kick your counterpart in the balls under the net if he needed it without causing an incident. Kind of like what happened on the volleyball court, stayed on the volleyball. After getting medevaced back to the US in 1969, I was
still a Special Forces officer in a desk job at Fort Bragg, and we played “jungle rules” volleyball everyday at 4pm. Again, if you did not like a guy, you could take care of it at the net and smile. It does have its place in our history. (Personal communication, 2010)

Volleyball's portability made it an obvious choice for Special Forces, as does its emphasis on teamwork and specialized positions. Volleyball also provided sites in which military masculinities and sexualized contact could occur, sometimes resulting in an intriguing portrayal of military leisure. The volleyball scene in the film *Top Gun* (Scott, 1986) comprises one of the most famous cultural representations of military homoeroticism. With twenty-first century hindsight, the volleyball rituals high fives and team hugs appear obviously homoerotic in ways that were not so obvious when the film first came out. The “hard and soft” denotes not only a style of play, but also the broad spectrum of volleyball participation and formations that resist strictly gendered categories.
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